

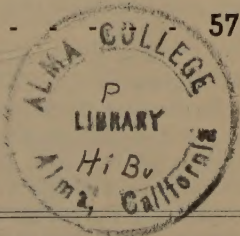
The
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November, 1955

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The HISTORICAL BULLETIN

A Service Quarterly for Teachers and Students of History

Vol. XXXIV

November, 1955

No. 1

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LIBERALISM AND CHURCH AND STATE IN ENGLAND

VALENTINE HEALY
SAN LUIS REY SEMINARY

The Church and State problem is not peculiar to predominantly Catholic countries. It exists as well in countries where the national religious profession is a form of Protestantism. In England, for example, the present position of the Anglican Church has prompted one of its principal leaders to suggest that perhaps disestablishment will soon be a necessary step.¹

The present position of the Established Church of England is significant because it illustrates something of the nature of Liberalism. Writers like to describe Liberalism as a solvent of existing institutions. That Liberalism fulfilled this role in England as regards the status of the Established Church is clear from the legislation attributable to that political creed during the years of its ascendancy, 1832-1875.

The extent to which Anglicanism received the favor of the law as late as 1832 can be seen in several areas of human life. Marriage ceremonies for all except Quakers and Jews had to be conducted by an Anglican clergyman as a condition of validity. Registration of births, marriages and deaths was also in the hands of Anglican clergymen. A non-Anglican unwilling to swear adherence to the Thirty Nine Articles and to observe Anglican worship had to leave England in order to receive a university training, thus restricting the legal and medical professions to those willing to conform to the Anglican practices demanded for entry and/or graduation from Oxford and Cambridge Universities. Professorships and other offices in the two Universities were virtually restricted to members of the Church of England. Further, the Church was supported by tithes and Church-rates, i.e., taxes, payable by all, member and non-member alike.

In these areas of human life, it was obviously a benefit to have membership in the Anglican communion, a disability to belong to any other religious group. That Liberalism should be interested in reducing the privileges of the Established Church is understandable. In the first place, Liberalism is based upon the idea that freedom consists in the absence of external restraints to one's actions. Clearly the obligation to take a religious test before being permitted matriculation at Oxford is such an external restriction. So also the obligation to support a Church

¹ Cyril Garbett, *Church and State in England*. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1950). The author is the present Archbishop of York.

by compulsory tithes and rates is an external restriction upon free disposal of property. In the second place, followers of Liberalism tended to be recruited from among the non-conforming classes and religious sects. The middle-class advocates of capitalism thus tended to draw to themselves the Dissenters, i.e., members of religious groups other than the Anglican. In this way, a political party became the vocalizer of the grievances of religious minorities and utilized the vote-getting appeal of being the champion of minority groups and civil liberties.²

For purposes of investigation, the struggle of Liberals and the Established Church will be studied in some detail during the decade immediately following the great Reform Act of 1832. This short period is worthy of study because it is typical of the years to follow both as regards the proposals and accomplishments of the Liberal Party towards removing civil benefits attached to the Church of England. By citing the Parliamentary speeches the investigation will also provide a basis for judging the religious orientation of Liberalism itself.

The topics to be studied include marriage and the registration of vital statistics, higher education at London University, Oxford and Cambridge, elementary education, and the payment of compulsory Church tithes and rates. All of these are limited to their English aspect alone since to include the Irish aspect would introduce additional other factors, for example, Catholicism and nationalism. Likewise, the scattered efforts to remove Anglican bishops from participation in the functioning of the House of Lords, to allow Anglican clergymen membership in the House of Commons, and to disestablish the Church are not considered. Though the arguments for these three moves were truly Liberal, they seem not to have been taken seriously.³

In regard to marriage, the proposed legislation was an effort to comply with the non-Anglican plea for services wholly by and among themselves which would be recognized as valid by law.

² A word of caution is necessary. Every Liberal Party member did not wish the removal of every civil disability arising from non-profession of Anglicanism. On the other hand, everyone who spoke in favor of removing disabilities was not by that fact alone a member of the Liberal Party nor even a full-fledged adherent of the Liberal creed. In general, however, the struggle for removing civil disabilities coincides with the era of Liberal ascendancy and those most prominent in the Parliamentary struggle were either Liberal Party members (here including the Philosophic Radicals) or at least utilized in their speeches arguments closely akin to the principles of the Liberal creed.

Prime Minister Earl Grey, in January of 1834, agreed that the non-Anglicans were justified in not wishing to be kept "upon a footing inferior to their fellow subjects by getting from another Church a rite which they should have from their own."⁴ In the Parliament, Cutlar Fergusson put the issue clearly when he said: "He did think that no professor of the dominant religion of the country ought to enjoy a single privilege which was not equally to be possessed by all classes of society. . . . Marriage ought to be a matter of civil contract, and of civil contract alone so far as the State interfered with it."⁵ "What the Dissenters required," said Mr. Wilks, "was perfect social equality and equal rights, with others of his Majesty's subjects, obtainable in as nearly as possible, the same way. . . . He wished to have a uniform system for all classes."⁶

Similar sentiments were voiced in Parliament in regard to the obligation to register births, marriages, and deaths—for legal effects—with the Anglican clergyman. "Marriages," said the Radical, Joseph Hume, "should be a civil act and then the registration would be matter of little difficulty. . . . The evil here, however, was that everything of the sort must go through the Church for the benefit of the Church."⁷ Lord Brougham argued that "marriage was perfectly distinct from a religious ceremony; is was only a civil contract. . . . The great principle on which

³ The motion to "relieve the archbishops and bishops from their legislative and judicial duties in the house of Peers" was ostensibly a move to permit them to better devote themselves to their spiritual work (Hansard, *Parliamentary Debates*, XXII, 131 ff. Hereafter this source is referred to simply as Hansard.) Actually, the motive was to promote religious equality: "The Bishops in the House of Lords was one of the great marks of the dominant supremacy of the State Church, the exclusion of the heads of every other sect was a badge of their inferiority" (Hansard, XXII, 145). The motion regarding clergymen being made eligible for the Commons was introduced "because he [Mr. Pryme] was averse from every principle of exclusion, and because he objected to all restrictions. It was the natural right of every man to be returned to Parliament—it was the natural right of electors to enjoy their suffrages without restraint . . . so great an infringement on the liberty of the subject as that of excluding any class of men from Parliament [should be removed]" (Hansard, XXIII, 759, 760).

⁴ Quoted in William L. Mathieson, *English Church Reform, 1815-1840*. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1923), p. 102. See also Simon Maccoby, *English Radicalism 1832-1856*, (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1935), p. 104.

⁵ Hansard, XXVI, 1100, 1098.

⁶ Hansard, XXVI, 1090, 1091.

⁷ Hansard, XXI, 779, 780.

they should legislate was, that registration should be made as much a civil and as little a religious ceremony as was possible."⁸

Those eager to remove the Church's monopoly in these two matters, marriage rites and registration of vital statistics, had to wait until 1836 before laws were enacted. At that time, a purely civil registry was set up and the registrars as civil officials were empowered to receive also the preliminary declaration of intent to marry—thus removing the need to have banns announced in the Anglican parish church. The marriage ceremony itself could be either an Anglican ceremony, or a non-Anglican religious ceremony in a chapel licensed for the celebration of marriage (the civil registrar had to be present at this ceremony), or simply a civil ceremony before the registrar.⁹

Thus the Liberals and Dissenters had their way. As events turned out, the revision in marriage legislation "is one of the early landmarks in the history of the secularisation of the State."¹⁰ Henceforth, the Legislature would consider marriage simply as a free contract in which the Established Church had no special concern and over which the Church should not put any restrictions. Likewise, as the Bishop of London soon remarked, "The Act for the Registration of Births had done much harm to the Church, not as an establishment, though in that way she suffered much, but she felt more because she lost her influence over the lower orders."¹¹

Liberal efforts to make university education and degrees available to all took two forms. The first was to seek removal of all religious tests at Oxford and Cambridge, except those in connection with divinity degrees; the second, to demand a charter empowering the new non-sectarian London University to grant the desired degrees.

London University had been begun in 1825 and "did not desire to have any chair of theology because it was considered the people

⁸ Hansard, XXIII, 942, 943.

⁹ Hansard, XXXI, 367ff. For details of proposed legislation in previous years, see Hansard, XXI, 76ff., XXIII, 942ff., XXVI, 1073ff. Maccoby, *op. cit.*, 143-144, maintains that the Lords passed the Bill in 1836 mainly for reasons of expediency.

¹⁰ F. Warre Cornish, *The English Church in the Nineteenth Century*, (London: Macmillan & Co., 1910), II, 89. The same judgment is passed by A. V. Dicey, *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century*. (London: Macmillan and Company, 1948), pp. 190, 346-347.

¹¹ Hansard, VL, 1255.

might be instructed in their religious tenets and duties at home."¹² It was recognized as a non-sectarian institution and so difficulty was met with in regard to obtaining a charter from the King. Oxford and Cambridge Universities seem to have been centers of opposition.¹³ In fact, the Church of England authorities promptly began a rival school in London, viz., King's College, to offset the attraction of London University. However, rather than accede to the demand to open Oxford and Cambridge to non-Anglicans, the Churchmen withdrew their opposition to London University and permitted a charter to be granted in 1837. The members of the school's first Council were all prominent Liberals or Philosophic Radicals: Henry Brougham, Thomas Campbell, John Russell, Joseph Hume, James Mill, George Grote, Zachary Macaulay, Henry Warburton, and the Marquess of Lansdowne.¹⁴ Halevy's comment is justified:

It was in vain that the Protestant party attempted to make the University of London a denominational body or even to permit it to assume a denominational character at the choice of its members. In London the question was solved as the liberals desired.¹⁵

The struggle to remove religious tests at the other Universities proved unsuccessful. A Bill was introduced in 1834 which conformed to the argument used by Lord Holland, a prominent Liberal Party Cabinet member:

Excellence in the learned and liberal professions of law and medicine in no degree depends upon religious belief; and Providence not having annexed the avowal of any peculiar tenets in religious matters as the condition of attaining human knowledge, I can discover no motive of prudence or duty which should induce human authority to impose any.¹⁶

Others argued that since no harm had been done by allowing nonconformists to attend classes at Cambridge, it was but just to give these same students an opportunity to obtain degrees. Religious subscription as a condition for degrees was considered hypocrisy whereas to allow all students into the Universities would heal divisions caused by religious differences. Further, the Universities belonged to the nation, not to the Church, and

¹² Hansard, XXVII, 280.

¹³ Hansard, XIX, 121-122.

¹⁴ Harriet Grote, *The Personal Life of George Grote*, (2nd ed.; London: John Murray, 1873), pp. 55-56.

¹⁵ Elie Halevy. *A History of the English People 1830-1841*. Translated by E. I. Watkin. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., n.d.), p. 204.

¹⁶ Hansard, XXV, 88.

so should be open to all citizens able to attend them successfully.¹⁷

The arguments in favor of abolishing the tests convinced the great majority of Members in the Commons and the Bill was, in the words of Dicey, "sanctioned by the liberalism of the day."¹⁸ Notwithstanding, the Lords rejected it after the first reading. "Oxford and Cambridge, it seemed, were to be as heretofore the property of the well-to-do classes, and in particular the nursery for the Anglican ministry."¹⁹ The Liberal Party leaders felt that to press the issue any further at the time would only harm their political cause and so turned attention to the London University charter.²⁰

Elementary education figured prominently in the Parliamentary records for every session. To generalize from this wealth of data is difficult not only because Liberals seem to have agreed to disagree among themselves but also because an individual Liberal was often inconsistent with himself. However, some guiding principles dominated the debates.

In the first place, great things were expected from education.²¹ Especially was education supposed to reduce the incidence of crime and the appeal of Chartism and other "dangerous" movements.²² Because of these social benefits, a few advocated compulsory education but there was no unanimity for some feared compulsory education was a violation of liberty and certain to make education distasteful.²³ There was agreement that the State should assume some part in education by matching voluntary offerings in financial support of education.

Agreement among the Liberals and Radicals was much more apparent on the principle that the Church should not dominate. Typical of the statements are these: "He [Ewart] was determined in matters of education to maintain the ascendancy of the State over the Church. . . . The principle that education should

¹⁷ Hansard, XXV, 816-818, 819-823.

¹⁸ Dicey, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

¹⁹ Cornish, *op. cit.*, I, 180.

²⁰ Hansard, XXXI, 378. See also Halevy, *op. cit.*, p. 205, n. 1.

²¹ Typical is Brougham's statement: "Let the soldier be abroad if he will; he can do nothing in this age. There is another personage, a person less imposing in the eyes of some, perhaps insignificant. The schoolmaster is abroad, and I trust him, armed with his primer, against the soldier in full military array" (quoted in D. C. Somervell, *English Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, [London: Methuen & Co., 1929], p. 28).

²² Hansard, XLVIII, 540-541, 557-558, 1261-1269, 288-289.

²³ Hansard, LXX, 1330ff.; IXL, 210, 316, 435, 457-460; LVII, 941.

be put exclusively in the hands of the Established Church I [Brougham] deny altogether. . . . Persons of all religious persuasions should be equally provided with the means of education provided from the funds raised from all. We claim no preference, we ask for no priority. Equality—that is all we demand. . . . The Church has no right to claim to superintend the religious education of those who are not comprehended within its pale.²⁴

On the matter of religious training in State-supported schools, Brougham's position is indicative of the typical Liberal's attitude. He opposed "any system of national education which should exclude religious instruction altogether," but such instruction should not be distinctive of any sect nor should any attempt be made to compel the consciences of individuals. If a religious program acceptable to all sects could not be devised, then the school should "give by all means secular instruction without religious instruction, rather than the people should remain in ignorance."²⁵

These principles are responsible for the legislation enacted, viz., amendments added to the Factory Law of 1833 to oblige children working only 48 hours weekly to attend school two hours every workday and to the New Poor Law of 1834 to oblige Commissioners to afford apprenticeship and schooling for pauper children. The first State financial aid to education dates from 1833 when £20,000 was made available to Dissenting groups as well as Church groups to match voluntary contributions.

The chief legislation was effected outside Parliament, so to speak, when an order in Council established the Committee on Education of the Privy Council in 1839. The Committee "entered" *Parliamentary Debates* first when it requested funds to set up a Normal School in which Dissenters would have a salaried chaplain as well as Anglicans. The plan for the Normal School had to be shelved but the Committee continued to function, following a three-point program: (1) a policy of strict neutrality between religious groups by granting money to any and all groups; (2) a plan to grant State aid without demanding that the money be matched by voluntary donations; (3) insistence that schools submit to inspection by the Committee and conform to Committee policies as a condition for receiving State aid.

The Committee's program involved innovations on all three points. Principally by the functioning of the Committee, ele-

²⁴ Hansard, XLVIII, 591, 640, 641, 622 (D. O'Connell), 1264 (Marquess of Lansdowne).

²⁵ Hansard, IXL, 210, 311.

mentary education was further removed from the control of the Established Church and vested in a State agency, thereby giving impetus to a national program of secular, without religious, training.

The subject of compulsory financial support of the Church can be treated more summarily. It is obvious that non-Anglicans would object and form pressure groups to win support in Parliament for abolition of this obligation; likewise, that a Party including many non-Anglicans and committed to political championing of such grievances would seek repeal of the tithes and rates.

The first effort to utilize Liberal principles was made in regard to Ireland, after the manner of a test case to see how far the principles could be applied in England itself. The famous "appropriation principle" recurred in legislative proposals concerning Ireland. It is based on the Ricardian idea that the State has the right to confiscate every increase in the net produce of an estate which was due, not to the possessor's or tenant's labor, but to the influence of society. Practically speaking, the appropriation principle could not be applied to any appreciable extent in Irish legislation and not at all in English legislation due to the opposition.

The efforts to abolish the tithes in England failed just as did the compromise measure to abolish the rates by substituting economy measures and prudent investments of current Church funds. All that could be accomplished was to reduce the tithes approximately one-fourth.

Even such a brief account of Liberal sentiment and action in Parliament, 1833-1841, as regards marriage and registration of vital statistics, education and Church support, justifies the conclusion that Liberalism showed itself hostile to the Church of England—if not to the religious doctrines of the Church, then at least to her privileged status as a socio-political institution. Liberalism filled its role as a solvent of the Church-State alliance in too hesitating and compromising a manner to satisfy its Radical wing yet determinedly enough to wrest some privileges from the Church and to keep alive a political creed that soon became the common property of all the major parties in England. In this way, Liberalism contributed much to the development of the secular State which we know today and which compels Archbishop Garbett to consider the feasibility of total disestablishment as the answer to the Church and State problem in England.

SAINT JOHN FISHER — A LINK IN THE CHAIN OF CIVILIZATION

SISTER MARY EVA THOMPSON, O.S.U.
BRESCIA COLLEGE

To say that Saint John Fisher was a great humanist of the English Renaissance, and at the same time, the embodiment of the inheritance of the Catholic Middle Ages seems at first glance a contradiction. Yet, there is no inconsistency in this erudite scholar of the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew culture, who could spend his energies founding colleges of learning, and at the same time say in his funeral sermon for King Henry VII: "A my lordes and maysters that have worldly wisdom, what have ye of all this besynes at the last but a lytell vanyte?"¹

Other enthusiasts of the new learning, notably Pico della Mirandola of Italy, spent their lives trying to reconcile Christianity with classical paganism, with the unhappy result that they forsook the piety of the former and became hopelessly involved in the worldliness of the latter. Fisher, on the other hand, held fast to that which was good in the God-centered devotion of the Middle Ages, and accepted with discrimination what the man-centered worship of the Renaissance had to offer, for he realized that the best elements of the one and the worst elements of the other could never clasp hands. He is, therefore, typical of the Christian Renaissance, and to such a marked degree that he was sought after by such European scholars as Erasmus of Rotterdam, and Prince Wendelin, Duke of Bavaria.² Spiritually, he was an age behind the Renaissance, and some four centuries ahead of it; for the Church in our day has arrived at the same conclusions regarding the use of the ancient culture that Fisher realized in the sixteenth century.

That Fisher did not hesitate to point out to his fellow humanists their deviations from the truth is evident from the fact that his treatise *De Unica Magdalena* was written to answer an error of Jacques Le Fèvre concerning Mary Magdalen. Le Fèvre was a learned Dominican of high esteem in France, who had written a dissertation stating that the three Marys of the Gospels—the converted sinner, the sister of Martha, and the woman out of whom Our Lord cast seven devils—had been erroneously grouped together by tradition into one Mary Magdalen. Fisher

¹ George Carver, "One English Martyr," *Commonweal*, XI (Ja. 22, 1930), 337-338.

² Thomas E. Bridgett, *Life of Blessed John Fisher* (New York: Catholic Pub. Soc. Co., 1888), 114.

made a thorough study of the matter and wrote his controversial treatise to prove that tradition was right. The Reverend Thomas Bridgett gives us Erasmus's reaction to Fisher's publication:

Erasmus had got the book printed, and acknowledged that the victory was with Fisher, yet he did not relish an attack made by a humanist on a humanist, and writes to the Bishop: "I wish your labour had been spent on some other matter, although your work is pious and elegant."³

Today it is an incontestable fact that Saint John Fisher's execution on Tower Hill, in 1535, arrested and delayed for a century the Renaissance in England. This essay attempts to show in what respects our Saint was a true humanist, in what respects a medievalist, and how his life is a link in the chain of civilization—"the embodiment of the old fancy, and the symbol of the modern idea."

HUMANISM OF SAINT JOHN FISHER

To establish a firm basis for the assertion that Fisher was truly a humanist of the first rank, reference must be made to the educational achievements of his lifetime. In the first place, his personal education was good. Beverley, where Fisher was born, in 1469, was a typical medieval town embodying the best of medieval culture. From his local Grammar school, he went to Cambridge where he was Master in Grammar at the age of fourteen. He advanced from Master of Arts degree to D.D. and Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1501. From this date, his zeal for the advancement of true learning in Cambridge was remarkable. Immediately he procured from the Pope authority for the University to license preachers throughout the kingdom whether diocesan Bishops sanctioned it or not. An early manuscript gives ample evidence of his educational activities:

[Very carefull] was he for the brynging up of the youth of England in vertu and learnyng: for by his labo[ur and by the] favour that the countesse of Riche-mont and Derby had hymn in (wyth whome he myght do very moch), [he with his] good counsell and perswasion cawsed hir to buylde twoo Famous colleges in the universities of Cambri[gge, the one] called , the other , in which [colleges a] great nombre of studious youthe have bene brought upp in vertu and good lernyng contyneweallie, till hereses overwhelmed all England; so that he myght well be called the father of them that were [given to vertu] and lernnyng.¹

³ *Ibid.*, 109-110.

The two foundations whose names are omitted from the *Rastell Fragments* quoted above were Christ's College and Saint John's College; the Countess of Richmonde who financed the projects was Lady Margaret, mother of King Henry VII. Their establishment, however, was mainly due to the bishop's sagacity and perseverance, for the colleges would have been lost to us in the squabbles over the Countess's will, "had not Fisher protected them and further endowed them himself."²

A well known passage in Fisher's Latin oration before Henry VII at Cambridge, in 1506, dwells upon the obstacles which had oppressed the bishop in the earlier years of the Christ College foundation:

I know not (he said) whether it was due to the continual lawsuits and wrongs inflicted upon us by the town, or to the long continued fevers which excessively afflicted us, so that we lost many of our number, including ten eminent and learned members of our doctorate; or to some other cause. Anyhow, patrons and benefactors of the arts there were few, indeed virtually none. Whatever the cause, a weariness of letters and learning increasingly came over nearly all of us, so that many bethought themselves how they might advantageously take their departure.³

Christ's College provided for a Master, twelve fellows, and forty-seven scholars, and the Bishop of Rochester was made Life-Visitor (1506).⁴ The scholars were to be able to speak Latin and to aspire to the study of literature and theology. There is no provision in the statutes for the study of canon or civil law, or of medicine. Fisher was set on the production of a pastoral clergy, and the reason for this is clear. His flock consisted of the inn-keepers, and other townsmen, and the close gathered households of the Kentish country over which he presided. Such a flock needed a well educated, pastoral clergy, and such he sought to provide in his University.

The St. John foundation caused Fisher even more labor and trouble than Christ's, for he had to obtain the triple consent of the Bishop of Ely, the Pope, and the King for the dissolution of

¹ Master Justice Rastell, *Rastell Fragments*, in Nicholas Harpsfield, *Life and Death of Sr. Thomas Moore*, ed. Elsie V. Hitchcock (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), 251.

² G. C. Heseltine, "John Fisher," *English Review*, LX (June, 1935), 672.

³ Quoted in R. G. D. Laffan, "St. John Fisher and Cambridge," *Dublin Review*, CLXXIX (July, 1935), 19-20.

⁴ Heseltine, *op. cit.*, 672.

the abandoned Hospital of St. John as part of the new college. The Bishop of Ely temporized, the Pope's permit contained a legal flaw and had to be reobtained, and the King died before giving his consent. This delay became more intolerable when the new King Henry VIII began to contest the departed Lady Margaret's will which provided the endowment.

Fisher lost a year and a half debating the matter at court and ended by finding himself deprived of a considerable sum to satisfy the royal greed. "Cardinal Wolsey is said to have robbed him of lands of the annual value of four hundred pounds."⁵ Finally he obtained the endowments of some small religious houses which he dissolved, and added his own generous benefactions to found the college of St. John's.⁶

The bishop's personal contribution to this second foundation is reported to have been five hundred pounds plus the purchase money of lands to an annual value of sixty pounds. He also founded out of his own estate four fellowships and two scholarships. The Harleian Manuscript testifies:

Thus did this godly man . . . also adde much thereunto of his owne purse, to the accomplishment and making perfect of that fair College, besides the wholesome statutes and ordinances most prudently by him penned, and many godly deeds by him executed. . . . Lykewise his librarie of bookes (which was thought to be such as no byshop in Europe had the lyke) with all his hangings, plate, and vessel, for hall, chamber, butterie, and kitchin, he gave longe before his death, to the College of St. John by a deed of gifte⁷

We may add to this list of donations the college chapel and vestments, "but at his (Fisher's) apprehension, the lord Croumwell caused all to be spoiled and gaven away amonge his owne servants."⁸ Small wonder that he exclaimed in his later years concerning these troubles: "It was sore laboreos and paynfull unto me that many tymes I was sory that ever I toke that besones upon me."⁹

⁵ Laffan, *op. cit.*, 31.

⁶ For this act Fisher has been accused of sacrilegious robbery of the Church. Such an accusation is unjustifiable since in one of these houses there remained only a Prioress and four nuns, two being with child.

⁷ Harleian Ms., 6382, *The Life of Fisher*, transe. Ronald Bayne (London: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1921), 29.

⁸ Arundel Ms., 152, in Vol. X *Analecta Bollandiana*, ed. Carolus de Smeat *et al.* (Paris: Soc. Gen. de Lib. Cath., 1891), 147.

⁹ Laffan, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

The fact that he did take that tremendous business upon him, and saw it through to completion amid such overpowering opposition from those in high places, reflects his devotion to learning and his capacity for business. Neither must we forget his early foundations of the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity and her Preachership at Cambridge and Oxford, nor the introduction of the New Learning, particularly of Greek, into the former university. When chosen President of Queen's College in 1505, he invited Erasmus, the greatest humanist scholar of the day, to take the Divinity Readership which he accepted and held from 1511 to 1515.

St. John's statutes, composed by Fisher, illustrate the broad educational views of the ablest reformers of the time on the purposes of collegiate life. Among the provisions we find that:

No language was to be used in Hall other than Latin, Greek or Hebrew. . . . The Bible should be read aloud during dinner, after which a Fellow should expound what had been read. One fourth of the Fellows were to preach to the people in English at least eight times a year and deliver an annual sermon in college, at which all students of theology were required to attend. . . .¹⁰

Thus for his achievements in behalf of the New Learning Fisher is entitled to rank amongst the leaders of the short-lived Catholic Renaissance in England. How complete was his victory at Cambridge in the matter of Greek is shown by St. Thomas More's letter of reproof to Oxford for the tumultuous opposition to the introduction of Greek studies. "At Cambridge," he wrote, "which you are always wont to outshine, even those who do not learn Greek are so moved by a common zeal for their University, that they contribute to the salary of the Greek reader."¹¹

Erasmus was the first professor of Greek at Cambridge, and Fisher himself, despite the extent of his labours and his age, studied Greek in 1516. This was true Reformation that involved no violence, no heresy, and no narrow minded Medievalism. This was Christian Humanism possessed of all the virtues of the Renaissance without its vices.

MEDIEVALISM OF SAINT JOHN FISHER

In speaking of Fisher's humanism, one must not forget that he was first a priest and only secondarily a scholar. His friendship for, and patronage of Erasmus, his Latin reading and translation of the Greek Fathers, his elegant Latin style made

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

him a man of the Renaissance, but they were subsidiary to the main business of his life—the promotion of God's kingdom on earth. There is nothing to suggest that he pursued knowledge for its own sake, or that the pagan authors of antiquity had any attraction for him. Learning was for him the handmaid of religion, to be judged by its service in that capacity. What he felt was being achieved at Cambridge is described by Erasmus, who wrote in a letter of June 1520:

Three years ago the Bishop of Rochester, that unique man, a true bishop and a true theologian, told me that, in the University of Cambridge, of which he is the permanent Chancellor, in place of sophistical debates the students of theology now conduct sane and sober discussions, from which they come away not only learned, but also better men.¹²

Fisher's almost omnipotent authority over the universities which he governed is to be explained by his undoubted orthodoxy and defense of all that was good in the Old Learning, combined with his eager sympathy for whatever could justify itself in the New. He belonged very definitely to an earlier time. He was remote from politics, profoundly spiritual, and seriously concerned with those problems of scriptural interpretation which had long formed the subjects of meditation for the Christian Fathers of the early Church. David Mathew quotes the bishop's own words with the following commentary:

"Where is now," he wrote, "the immemorable company and puissance of Xerxes and Cesar, where is now the grete victoryes of Alexander and Pompey, where is now the grete rychesse of Cresus and Crassus?" This was the high Middle Ages with its universe of knowledge and the sage reflections and the miniatures of history. It was the spirit of the medieval universities to which townsman and countryman would come for knowledge.¹³

His medievalism is further shown in the statutes of St. John's where music, dancing, and noise were forbidden in the rooms, but whenever, in winter, a fire was lighted in Hall "in honour of God or a Saint," all might stay and sing or otherwise amuse themselves. In the College Chapel, moreover, he provided for a "dirige to be yerely songe for him" after his death; and over the tomb which he prepared for his own burial (but was deprived

¹² Quoted in R. G. D. Laffan, "St. John Fisher and Cambridge," *Dublin Review*, CLXXIX (July, 1935), 35.

¹³ David Mathew, *Catholicism in England, 1535-1935* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1936), 7.

of after death) he had inscribed the words: "Faciam vos fieri piscatores hominum."¹⁴ His name was Fisher, and to him this fact was a second reminder (his office as Bishop being the first) that he was primarily a fisher of men's souls. For this same reason "all the stalles endes in the Queare of that colledge (St. John's) had graven in them by the joyner, a flush and an eere of wheat. . . ."¹⁵

Thus the spirituality of Catholic generations long undisturbed had gone to the moulding of the mind and temper of St. John Fisher.

Concerning his personal habits of life we read in the old Arundel manuscripts:

In dieate he was so temperat yt almost he e [at and] dranke by weight and measure. But his chefe susten [ance] was a kynd of thynne pottage, wherein flesh was bo [iled]; but of flesh he eate very seldome, and yt of small quan [tity]. His drinke was a kynd of ale made for him of purp [ose] so thynne yt it differed but little from water. . . .

His lodging was not very curyous for he would symtyme repose him self upon a matte within his gallery, standing nere to his cathederall church in Rochester, out of which he had caused a hole to be made through the wall, where he might here and see divine service.¹⁶

Unlike the majority of ecclesiastics of his day, Wolsey for example, Fisher was satisfied with the poorest bishopric in the realm—that of Rochester. A Protestant biographer, H. Coleridge, admits this love of poverty, saying:

Though Fisher was repeatedly offered wealthier dioceses, he always stuck fast to Rochester, then the poorest see in the kingdom, saying, "he would not forsake his poor little old wife, with whom he had lived so long."

And he adds in a footnote:

In order fully to enter into the spirit of this saying, it should be recollected, that St. Paul, when he says "a bishop should be the husband of one wife," meant that a bishop should have no wife but his church.¹⁷

This expression of Fisher's reminds us of the spirit of St.

¹⁴ Arundel Ms., 284, in Vol. X *Analecta Bollandiana*, ed. Carolus de Smeat *et al.* (Paris: Soc. Gen. de Lib. Cath., 1891), 165.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

¹⁷ Hartley Coleridge, *Lives of Northern Worthies* (London: Bradbury and Evans, Printers, Whitefriars, 1852), II, 166.

Francis of Assisi, who was married to the Lady Poverty, as does a later statement made on the morning of his execution. When his servant showed surprise that he had dressed himself with more than usual care, and apparently to no purpose, since he should "putt of all agayne erit be none," he answered: "What man, doest not thow knowe yt this is our wedding day? I must be gay this day for honor of the mariage."¹⁸

He much begrudged the money and time he had to spend in connection with court functions and attendance on the king (he was in the Privy Council of both Henry VII and Henry VIII), and he considered the Convocations held by Wolsey more for that prelate's vanity and ostentation as he boldly declared, than for any good they were meant to do. In Convocation he was vigorous in attacking clerical shortcomings, but equally vigorous in criticizing the Commons when they proposed to interfere in Church matters. The Arundel Manuscripts are interesting in this particular:

He also in a parlement tyme admonished the lords in the higher howse to beware what billes they receyved from the comons. For he noted them inclined to heresy, which proceded (as he said) of lacke of faithe. For the which the speaker and the comon howse were greatly displeased with him and made complaint of him to the kinge.¹⁹

Bishop Fisher did in fact speak fearlessly to all classes, warning not only the people but also the king and all his nobility of the new sects that were arising, declaring that "after [the] admitting of heresy, the Turks infidelity were [lyke] to follow, whereof . . . it may be thought yt he spake in spirtu prophetico, not without instincte of the holy gost."²⁰

The *Rastell Fragments* declare that he was a very diligent preacher who moved the affections of his audience to cleave to God and goodness.²¹ His sermons were among the earliest to be published in the vernacular, those on the Penitential Psalms being first printed by Pynson in 1505. They were delivered in his Cathedral Church of Rochester, and are masterpieces of forcible sound English, and profound scholarship, modeled on

¹⁸ Arundel Ms., 152, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

²¹ Master Justice Rastell, *Rastell Fragments*, in Nicholas Harpsfield, *Life and Death of Sr. Thomas Moore*, ed. Elsie V. Hitchcock (London: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1932), 251.

St. Augustine's tractates on the Psalms, and containing many and apposite citations from the Fathers and references to Holy Scripture. In his preface to the edition of Fisher on the Penitential Psalms published in 1914 for the Catholic Library Association, J. S. Phillimore writes:

This treatise is offered to the public . . . both as an excellent piece of devotional reading and as an excellent piece of literature, deeply interesting to anybody who takes any pride in his mother tongue, and feels an honest complacency in recognizing how near to the perfect adequacy and aptness of a civilized language was the speech of our ancestors 400 years ago.²²

Fisher's medieval ideas on many subjects are contained in these sermons. Concerning society he tells us: "The least Christian person, the poorest and most low in degree, is nigh in kindred to Almighty God."²³ Concerning science:

The generations of men should not long live if they were not nourished with the food and fruit that groweth upon the earth, also they could not be brought forth but of the earth. Itself earth should always be barren and without fruit if it received no moisture and heat from heaven. The inferior orbs in the heavens be led about in their course by the first orb. And last, the first orb hath all his virtue and strength of Almighty God, Increaser of all things. . . .²⁴

Passages such as these show us not only the deep-seated, medieval piety of the Saint, but also the curveting simplicity of his pastoral rhetoric, for he believed that the language of the common man was the finest literary medium to reach the ear of all the people, and especially the country people of his Kentish diocese. He used the plain style of oratory which Professor R. W. Chambers has taken such great pains to trace through the centuries of Christian literature to Alfred the Great:

But we have seen that, during the century and a half intervening between the days of Rolle and More's (also Fisher's) early manhood, this old tradition had been in touch with a yet older tradition—that of the group of writings popular certainly by the early Thirteenth Century, and possibly before, of which the *Ancren Riwele* is the greatest extant survival. Further, the *Ancren riwele*

²² John Fisher, *Commentary on the Seven Penitential Psalms*, ed. J. S. Phillimore (2 vols.; St. Louis: B. Herder, 1914), I, x-xi.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, p. 21.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53-54.

and its group is an outgrowth of the homiletic tradition of the Twelfth Century, which itself is based upon AElfric—who, in his turn, deliberately built upon the foundations laid by Alfred.²⁵

Fisher then was undoubtedly a medievalist in his rhetorical style, using the natural, lucid, and easy prose of the school of Hilton (died 1396), and a whole school of English prose ends with his death and that of his contemporary, St. Thomas More.

CONCLUSION

St. John Fisher has been compared to numerous Saints of the early Church. We are perhaps most familiar with the likeness drawn between him and St. John the Baptist, both in name and circumstance of life. Paul III (Pope) gave him higher honors than St. Thomas of Canterbury who defended the right of only one particular church, while Fisher defended the Universal Church.²⁶ It has been pointed out that in the gravity of his writings he is to be revered with St. Bede; in the staunchness of his martyrdom, he was a second Ciprian; in praying for his enemies and persecutors, he resembled St. Stephen. He is indeed comparable to St. Ambrose in the stout defending of the right and liberty of the Church against the power of princes. And both Saints left us writings of Scripture, the priesthood, virginity, and doctrinal matters.

It was to these earlier Saints that Fisher went for arguments against the heresies of his day. Typical is the following quotation from his controversy with Luther:

. . . if, lastly, he (anyone) views the unanimous consent of so many churches during so many centuries, without even one dissentient voice, it will surely be impossible for him to believe that now only at last has risen upon Luther alone the light of truth, never so much as suspected by any of the ancient fathers, and the exact contrary of what they all maintained.²⁷

It was not granted to this great servant of God to see all the fruits of his labors and prayers for the preservation of his Church. The prospect before his eyes as he awaited death in the

²⁵ R. W. Chambers, "Continuity of English Prose From Alfred to More And His School," in Nicholas Harpsfield, *op. cit.*, p. cxxiv.

²⁶ F. Van Ortro, S.J., *Vie du bienheureux martyr Jean Fisher*, in Vol. XII *Analecta Bollandiana*, ed. Carolus de Smeat et al. (Paris: Soc. Gen. de Lib. Cath., 1893), 217.

²⁷ Thomas E. Bridgett, *Life of Blessed John Fisher* (New York: Catholic Pub. Soc. Co., 1888), 132-133.

Tower was that of a people betrayed by their pastors, of pulpits long silent and now vocal only with insults to God's vicar, and of the glorious Church of St. Gregory and St. Augustine foundering in heresy and schism. Yet, as Father Bridgett so aptly points out:

. . . . on the feast of Our Lady's Assumption, the 15th of August, 1534, while he, a bishop, banished from his people, deposed from his see, shut in a dark prison, . . . was calling on the Queen of Mercy to stay the arm of God's vengeance, in Our Lady's Church at Montmartre in Paris, the Blessed Peter Faber was offering that eventful Mass at which St. Ignatius, St. Francis Xavier, with four companions, . . . pronounced their first vows and laid the foundations of the Society of Jesus. Could Fisher in spirit have seen that act and known its consequences, he would have known that his prayer was answered beyond his hope or imagination.²⁸

Thus Fisher inherited the best of the old medieval order and bequeathed it with improvement for the leavening of the new. He took his stand on a long tested and established moral basis; where as those who established a new oligarchy upon the devastation of the old ecclesiastical system, "however corrupt it may have been, did so arbitrarily, without precedent, without even the deliberate planning of a progressive experiment. They acted on a basis of expediency."²⁹ In his moderation, integrity of life, and disinterestedness of purpose, Fisher was in line with the tradition of the past; in his liberality of sentiment and earnest desire for reform, he looked far beyond his age, and in fact, was the firm link that bound the two together.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 436-437.

²⁹ G. C. Heseltine, "John Fisher," *English Review*, LX (June, 1935), 668.

SENATOR FROM ILLINOIS

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One of the most difficult things which the teacher of history must accomplish is to convince the students that the things taught in history class and the events read in the history books, did not happen on the moon. A further difficulty lies in the attempt to show the modern-day student how far away he is from his great-grandmother in the material conditions of his civilization and how near in the moral problems. The task is to make him understand that although radio and television, jet engines and the atomic age, separate him, as far as material civilization goes, almost as far from his great grandparents as from an eleventh century London family; nevertheless, the age-old problems which human nature has to offer, do not much change.

Sometimes the story of one individual in his surroundings, even if the biographical details are at times annoyingly vague, can aid the student to grasp both similarity and dissimilarity more easily. Such is the purpose of this brief essay on the life and surroundings of an important politician of the mid-West of more than a century ago.

In 1815 the larger part of what is now the State of Illinois was a wilderness. Deer, rabbits, squirrels, opossums abounded. Wild cats, bears, wolves, and panthers forced the wary settler to watch well his lean cattle and half-wild hogs from their nightly prowlings. Even wild horses were to be found in some sections. There were wild fruits, plums, mulberries, cherries, blackberries and strawberries, and the settlers grew maize, wheat, oats and barley. Of tobacco, Peck, author of the *Gazetteer of Illinois*, writes: "Tobacco, though a filthy and noxious weed, which no human being out ever to use, can be produced in any quantity and of the first quality in Illinois!"¹

Hardships abounded too. The Indians were especially dangerous during the War of 1812 and in their sudden raids upon the frontier settlements made life for many one long fear. Communication was slow for roads were few and in wet weather scarcely passable, for most roads were little more than trails. George Flower says of them that they were made "by one man on horseback following in the track of another, every rider making the way a little easier to find, until you came to some slush or swampy place, where all trace was lost, and you got through as others had done, by guessing at the direction, often riding at hazard

¹ J. M. Peck, *Gazetteer of Illinois* (Jacksonville, 1834), 23-24.

for miles until you stumbled on the track again.”²

The homes of the settlers were rude log cabins, which one pioneer woman thus pictures.

“It was a fair specimen of a log-house, and therefore a description of it will give the reader a pretty correct idea of the American peasantry. There were two rooms, both on the ground floor, separated from each other with boards so badly joined, that crevices were in many places observable. The rooms were nearly square, and might contain from thirty to forty square yards each; beneath one of the rooms was a cellar, and floor and sides of which were mud and clay, as left when first dug out; the walls of the house consisted of layers of strong blocks of timber, roughly squared and notched into each other at the corners; the joints filled up with clay. The house had two doors, one of which is always closed in winter, and open in summer to cause a draught. The fire was on the floor at the end of the building, where a very grotesque chimney had been constructed of stones gathered out of the land, and walled together with clay and mud instead of cement. . . . The house was covered with oak shingles. . . . There was no window to the house I am describing, although many log-houses may now be found having glass windows. This inconvenience I pointed out to my hostess, who replied, ‘upon the whole it was well without, for in winter the house was warmer and in summer they always had the door open which was better than any window.’ It is in reality true that the want of light is felt very little in a log-house; in winter they are obliged to keep fine blazing fires, which in addition to the light obtained from their low wide chimneys, enable the inmates to perform any business that is requisite.”³

If the social conditions of the Illinois pioneers present an almost medieval picture to us, the people who inhabited the lands were scarcely less strange. First, there were the Indians, hundreds of them, living for the most part in the central and northern parts of Illinois, members of the Potawatomi, Sauk, Winnebago, Fox or old Kaskaskia tribes. The white members too were a very cosmopolitan group. There were the old French settlers in and about Cahokia and Kaskaskia. Catholic in religion, French

² Quoted by S. J. Buck, *Illinois in 1818* (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1917). Schulz in his *Travels on an Inland Voyage* remarks: “If the mud does not get quite over your boot tops when you sit in the saddle, they call it a middling good road.” Quoted by Dunbar, *History of Travel in America*, (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1915), III, 755.

³ *A True Picture of Emigration*, edited by M. M. Quaife. (Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1936), 47 ff.

in speech and thought, these hardy frontiersmen were a quaint mixture of medieval French peasant and typical American pioneer. Governor Ford thus describes them.

"Many of them spent a great part of their time in the spring and fall seasons, in paddling their canoes up and down the rivers and lakes in the river bottoms on hunt-excursions, in pursuit of deer, fur, and wild fowl, and generally returned home well loaded with skins, fur, and feathers, which were with them the great staples of trade. Those who stayed at home, contented themselves with cultivating a few acres of Indian corn, in their common fields, for bread and providing a supply of prairie hay for their cattle and horses. No genuine Frenchman, in those days, ever wore a hat, cap, or coat. The heads of both men and women were covered with Madras cotton handkerchiefs which were tied around in the fashion of night-caps. For an upper covering of the body the men wore a blanket garment, called a 'capot', with a cap to it at the back of the neck, to be drawn over the head for a protection in cold weather, or in warm weather to be thrown back upon the shoulders in the fashion of a cape. Notwithstanding this people had been so long separated by an immense wilderness from civilized society, they still retained all the suavity and politeness of their race. And it is a remarkable fact, that the roughest hunter and boatman amongst them could at any time appear in a ballroom, or other polite and gay assembly, with the carriage and behaviour of a well-bred gentleman. The French women were remarkable for the sprightliness of their conversation and the grace and elegance of their manners. And the whole population lived lives of alternate toil, pleasure, innocent amusement, and gaiety."⁴

The "Americans" who far outnumbered the old French settlers, were of various types. There was the rugged class of men who were the vanguard of the Westward movement, that "daring race . . . who live in miserable cabins; unpolished but hospitable and kind. . . . Their rifle is their principal means of support. They are the best marksmen in the world and such is their dexterity that they will shoot the apple off the head of a companion." When an area began to fill up with settlers these men moved on; for their motto was: "When you can hear the sound of a neighbor's gun, it's time to move away."⁵

Next came the first settlers. A log cabin, a plot of ground, a

⁴ Gov. T. Ford, *History of Illinois, 1818-1847* (Chicago: Griggs & Co., 1854) 36 ff.

⁵ G. Flower quoted by Buck, *op. cit.*, 98-99.

horse, a cow, and solitude: these were their treasured possessions. A cross between hunters and farmers, they spent some time on the cultivation of their fields and remained in the midst of the growing population, breeding their horses and cows, caring for their poultry, and improving their farms. Nevertheless, when the district became more densely populated and the price of land went up, they would often sell their farms and move further west. They were followed by the real farmers; men interested in breeding good livestock, in sowing larger and larger fields, building bigger and better barns. "Farmers of this description are frequently partners in the banks; members of the State assembly or of Congress, or Justices of the Peace."

A final class of men is of special interest because it was to this class that Elias Kent Kane belonged. The group was composed of enterprising "young doctors, lawyers, storekeepers, farmers, mechanics, etc." who founded towns, traded and speculated in land, and wove the fabric of society. "Most of them lived in or near one of the land office towns, Kaskaskia, Shawneetown or Edwardsville, but a few were to be found located in the smaller settlements."⁶

Into this social set-up came Kane, a young university graduate, cultured and ambitious; the son of an old aristocratic New York family, this youth soon won the admiration and esteem of these rough pioneers. And yet, distinguished though he was, widely admired and known by so many, so little has been left us about the man himself that he has been called the "man in a mask". As one writer declares:

Letters to and from Kane, even from father and friends, newspaper puffs, the epithets of enemies, a school boy's letter about him, survive. . . . Catalogues of his political abilities, virtues, and vices can be found; again and again is seen his influence at work; but from all these can be drawn no picture of Kane himself.⁷

However some attempt can be made to sketch at least the outlines from the fragments we do possess.

Elias Kent Kane was born in the state of New York, probably in 1792.⁸ His father, an Irishman, had started out in youth as a sailor and had achieved the position of a wealthy and respected merchant. Elias had been a member of New York society and had

⁶ Ogg, *Fordham's Personal Narrative* as quoted by Buck, *op. cit.*, 101 ff.

⁷ T. C. Pease, *The Frontier State, 1818-1848* (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1918), 94-95.

been educated at Yale from which he took his law degree in 1812. Why this young lawyer should leave the pleasant social life and influential friends of his college days to set out across the continent for the wild frontier is somewhat of a mystery. The fact that his father suffered severe financial reverses during the war of 1812 as well as his own spirit of adventure and ambition were probably chief causes. At any rate we find him stopping for a short time in Tennessee in 1813 and then, sometime during 1814, settling in the historic town of Kaskaskia.

Since Kane and his family lived in Kaskaskia, and since it was here that he made his name as a lawyer and politician, a description of the town as it then was, affords us an idea of Kane's powers of adaptation. Samuel Brown in his *Western Gazetteer* (1817) thus writes of Kaskaskia.

"Kaskaskia, situated on the right shore of the river of the same name, eleven miles from its mouth and six from the Mississippi in a direct line. It is at present the seat of the territorial government and chief town of Randolph county—contains 160 houses, scattered over an extensive plain; some of them are stone. Almost every house has a spacious picketed garden in the rear. The houses have a clumsy appearance; it is 150 miles south-west of Vincennes and 900 from the city of Washington. The inhabitants are more than half French, they raise large stocks of horned cattle, horses, swine, poultry, etc. There is a postoffice, a land office for the sale of the public lands, and a printing office, from which is issued a weekly newspaper entitled the *Illinois Herald*. . . . The surrounding lands are in a good state of cultivation."⁹

However, an eastern visitor in 1819 presents quite a different picture.

"Remained in this inconsiderable village this day. Much disappointed in the appearance of the long-talked-of Kaskaskia. It is situated on the Okaw or Kaskaskia river, three miles from the Mississippi. It never can be a place of much business. The land office is kept at this place. There are some neat buildings, but they are generally old, ugly and inconvenient. Their streets are irregular and of bad widths. The inhabitants are all generals,

⁸ H. B. Chamberlin in his excellent article, "Elias Kent Kane" in the *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1908, no. 13, p 162 ff., gives 1794 as the date of his birth, but the *National Intelligencer* as noted by Chamberlin gives his age as 43 at the date of his death, Dec. 12, 1835. Had he been born in 1794 he would have been less than thirty-two at his entrance to the senate on Mar. 4, 1825.

⁹ Quoted by Buck, *op. cit.*, 75.

colonels, majors, land speculators or adventurers, with now and then a robber and a cutthroat.”¹⁰

Kane had arrived at Kaskaskia in 1814 and immediately began to practice law. Within a few months he was considered a person of influence and by 1817 he was one of the leaders of a political faction known as the Anti-Edwards faction, and was appointed a judge of the Territory by the President.¹¹ When Kane began his practice of law, he had many adjustments to make to the frontier code of law and the frontier methods of obtaining justice. This was indeed a far cry from the sedate moot court rooms of the university classes. The citizens of Illinois were quite democratic folk; justice was obtainable, but of formality there was little. For example, at the first Circuit Court of Washington county, “held by Judge J. Reynolds, the sheriff, on opening the court went out into the court yard and said to the people: ‘Boys come in, our John is going to hold court’.”¹² A successful lawyer among these pioneers needed a great fund of good common sense, together with his training in the law. Kane clearly had the necessary quality for despite his youth (he was only twenty-two years old) and the fact that he was a stranger and moreover a highly educated New Yorker, he became quickly popular with and respected by these democratic pioneers. Still, he must have often felt the lack of intellectual companionship. He had, it is true, the opportunity of meeting such men as McLean, Edwards, Thomas and Phillips; but these were almost the only professional men with whom he could converse on anything like an intellectual equality, for the vast majority of Illinois pioneers had very little if any school education. And until he learned French, the local French society was practically a closed world.

The law of the frontier, especially the criminal law, must have seemed harsh and strange. These pioneers had few jails and the punishments which were meted out, we of today would probably call barbarous. Standing in the pillory, confinement in the stocks, branding and whipping were frequent penalties for both felonies and misdemeanors.¹³ If those who had been fined were unable to

¹⁰ *Idem*, 76.

¹¹ *Idem*, 200. Ninian Edwards was the leader of one political faction and the opposition, of which Kane was a leader, was known as the Anti-Edwards group. Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, 165.

¹² Gov. T. Ford, *op. cit.*, 83; with slight variations, A. Davidson and B. Stuve, *A Complete History of Illinois from 1673 to 1873* (Springfield: Illinois Journal Co., 1874) 286 ff.

¹³ A. Davidson and B. Stuve, *op. cit.*, 286 ff.

pay, the fines were collected "by the sheriff hiring or selling them to anyone who would pay the fine for such term as the court should deem reasonable."¹⁴ Although these laws may seem in modern circumstances harsh and crude, it must be remembered that the pioneers had to deal with crime as best they could.

During the years 1810-1815, the territory of Illinois was growing rapidly, and by 1815 some 30,000 people were living within its boundaries, mostly in the southern half of the present state. By the Ordinance of 1787, 60,000 inhabitants were necessary before a territory could become a state, but in 1817 Daniel P. Cook started his famous movement for statehood for Illinois. A petition was sent to Congress asking for admission with a population of 40,000. The request was granted, the people of Illinois were empowered to write themselves a constitution, and the Constitutional Convention, which would decide whether there were the requisite 40,000, was allowed to rely upon the "enumeration directed to be made by the legislature of the said Territory".¹⁵ It has been said that the required 40,000 were finally attained by counting everybody once (including travelers) and some people twice.¹⁶

The story of Kane as a practical statesman begins with his election to this convention, which was to write the constitution for the State of Illinois. There are three events which stand out in the political life of Kane and the first is his part in this convention; the second, his stand with regard to slavery and the Convention Movement of 1823-24; and, lastly, his double term as United States Senator from Illinois.

The Constitutional Convention met at Kaskaskia in July of 1818. Thomas was elected president of the assembly, but Kane soon became its leading spirit. There were thirty-three delegates and Kane was one of the five lawyers among them. His fellow delegates were not slow in recognizing his learning, ability and shrewdness. He was one of the committee of fifteen selected to draft the constitution and several of its most distinctive features are attributed to his suggestion. One peculiar feature of this constitution was the so-called "Council of Revision" composed of the Governor and Justices of the Supreme Court. The Council examined all laws passed by the Senate and *returned such laws*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Congress passed the "Enabling Act" on April 18, 1818.

¹⁶ Buck, *op. cit.*, 239; 263-266; 318; C. W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673-1818* (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1920), I, 461-462.

as it did not approve. These laws could be passed over the council's veto by a majority in each house. (It is an interesting precedent to plans proposed by some in the discussion on the power and actions of the Supreme Court of the United States during the N.R.A. judicial reviews.) When this council became unpopular in later years due to its manipulation by politicians, its origin was attributed to Kane by his political enemies. In general, however, people realized that Kane's work at this convention was extremely beneficial. "He did all that man could to make the constitution a safeguard, and was credited with framing the really good sections as well as combating the adoption of those clauses which afterward worked to the disadvantage of the people."¹⁷ He has been called the Father of the Constitution of Illinois and John F. Snyder is an authority for the statement that "Judge Breese, who was then a law student in E. K. Kane's office in Kaskaskia, said the Constitution . . . was written in Mr. Kane's office sometime before the meeting of the convention".¹⁸

On Oct. 5, 1818, the first General Assembly met at Kaskaskia and Shadrach Bond was inaugurated as first Governor of the State of Illinois. Kane was appointed by the governor as the first Secretary of State. Bond himself had had but little formal schooling and most of his state papers are the work of Kane. Indeed, Kane was actually the power behind the governor's chair during these formative years.

The next important event in the political life of Illinois was the dispute on the slavery question. Elias Kane was a member of the pro-convention party which was also pro-slavery. Here again, although it is clear from the historical records that he was a pro-slavery man, the reasons for his stand are not clear. Slavery had been introduced many decades before by the early French settlers and their descendants had continued to hold slaves. It should be noted, however, that although the French did have the institution of slavery, their slave code was much more humane and kindly than those usual at the time in American states which had slavery, and in particular much better than the extremely severe slave legislation of Illinois, the "Black Laws" of 1819. (Southern settlers had generally brought their slaves along with them when coming to Illinois, but the Yankees were for the most part anti-slavery men.)

The French Slave Code provided that "slaves be baptized and

¹⁷ Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, 167.

¹⁸ *Idem*, 360, note 1.

instructed in the Roman Catholic religion and that they observe the Sabbath . . . that slaves enfeebled by age or infirmity shall be maintained by the master . . . prohibits their severe treatment and the separate sale of husband and wife or children under age . . ."¹⁹

Discussion of the slavery problem had arisen often during the years 1800-1815. It came up again at the constitutional convention. The Ordinance of 1787 had, it is true, barred slavery from the Northwest Territory; but many claimed that the qualifications of the state of Virginia when she ceded her claims to the Territory (1784) had legalized the French slaves. The constitutional convention certainly did not abolish slavery; and though it apparently forbade its extension, still the document seemed to legalize what slavery there was. Article VI, Sec. 1, reads as follows: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this State." But when other sections of this article are read, the intention of the convention is not so clear. One historian summarizes it thus:

The article on slavery as a whole is not easy to interpret. It would seem to have been the purpose of the convention to make Illinois ultimately a free state and to wipe out the territorial indenture system for the future, but to interfere in no way with existing property rights in slaves or indentured servants.²⁰

The question was again in dispute during the years 1822-1824. A movement of the pro-slavery party was initiated to ask the people to call another convention in order that the constitution might be amended. The history of this movement is a short one. The Senate which was pro-slavery had passed a bill requesting the people to call a convention to amend the constitution, and by a political trick the necessary majority had been secured in the House. Almost eighteen months elapsed before the people voted on this request and during these months the campaign became bitter. One sees, as in a microcosm, a struggle similar to that which would so disturb the nation decades later. The greatest strength of the pro-slavery party was naturally in the southern parts of the state, while the anti-slavery groups controlled the northern ones. Both sides developed arguments like those used later by the slavery and abolitionist advocates in the national struggle. Among the prominent pro-convention party were such men as Kane, Reynolds, Judge Smith, Bond, McClean, and

¹⁹ A. Davidson and B. Stuve, *op. cit.*, 310.

²⁰ Buck, *op. cit.*, 282.

Young. Election day saw everyone voting; the aged and crippled were carried to the polls; 11,612 voted, 4,972 for and 6,640 against.²¹ This vote seems to have settled the problem and the question never again assumed as much importance in Illinois politics.

Kane was undoubtedly a leader of the pro-convention and pro-slavery party and is also said to have been connected with the pro-slavery newspaper at Edwardsville.²² It has also been suggested that Kane was influenced by his French wife, a member of one of the old French families at Kaskaskia, who herself owned slaves.²³ When seeking election to the constitutional convention, Kane is said to have made the remark that, "if Dr. Fisher were elected as his colleague, he, Mr. Kane, would consider himself instructed to vote for the introduction of slavery, but if Mr. McFerron were elected as his colleague, then he would consider himself instructed to vote against slavery."²⁴ Dr. Fisher was elected as his colleague. Whatever his other reasons may have been, we do not know.

Kane next sought election as a member in the Illinois Congress for 1820 but was defeated by Cook. However, on Nov. 30, 1824, he was elected United States Senator by the State Legislature on the tenth ballot. He served a full term and was re-elected on Dec. 11, 1830, on the first ballot. The new senator took his seat on March 4, 1825, and on that day he wrote to his wife Felicite, "Whilst the whole world seems to have pressed into the capital to hear John Quincy Adams make his inaugural speech, I have retired to the Senate chamber." One of the few bits of information about Kane as Senator, is his view of the politician's plague, the office seeker. He said he had decided to recommend any and all respectably recommended from his State but simply to recommend them without attempting to discriminate between office seekers because this seemed to him the fairer course of action.²⁵

²¹ A. Davidson and B. Stuve, *op. cit.*, 327.

²² Ford, *op. cit.*, 53.

²³ The baptismal records of the parish church at Kaskaskia, now at the St. Louis University Library, have the following entry under date of Oct. 5, 1836. "On the fifth of October in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty six, Maria Louisa born on the seventeenth of September of this year, daughter to Francis Menard, slave to Menard, and Jeanette, slave to Mrs. Kane, was baptized by the Rev. Gentleman, the undersigned. Her godfather was Saucier Menard, her godmother, Maria Kane."

²⁴ Buck, *op. cit.*, 257.

²⁵ *Autograph Letters (E. K. Kane)*, v. 48, #563 in the collection of the Chicago Historical Society Library.

According to the date of his age, at the time of his death, as given in the newspaper write-ups, Kane would have just turned 33 at the time of his entrance into the Senate and hence would have been one of the youngest men to enter the Senate since Henry Clay. Of his career as a senator, one writer declares:

The records of the senate show that Senator Kane was an active member. He was an accurate thinker and although his speeches indicate no flights of oratory, he was earnest and eloquent. A man of good judgment, kindly, courteous, and in debates at times when party spirit ran high, he was not drawn into acrimonious discussion and personalities.²⁶

If the documentary materials on Kane's political life are scarce, personal details about the man himself are even more scant. In biographical notices of him, in the comments of his contemporaries, almost nothing of a personal nature is given us. Gov. Ford describes him as a "man of talents both solid and brilliant" and G. Smith pictures him as "tall, florid, of a kindly expression, scholarly and affable, Mr. Kane was deservedly popular even to the degree of commanding the support of his political enemies . . ." Two days after Kane's death at Washington, the *National Intelligencer* remarked: "He was an urbane and amiable gentleman, estimable in his domestic and social relations and a useful and respected member of the Senate, in which elevated body he had held a seat for ten years, the strongest proof of the high respect in which he was held by his fellow citizens at home."²⁷

Of his religious beliefs at any time in his life most biographical notices say practically nothing, which is frequently more of an indication about the biographer than his subject. However, it is clear that Kane in his early life was not a Catholic nor was his family in New York of Catholic background.²⁸ When Elias settled at Kaskaskia, he found himself as far as the French inhabitants were concerned, in a traditionally Catholic French village. Probably more important in the development of his religious convictions was his marriage to Felicite Peltier-dit-Antaya, a daughter of an old French Catholic family of Kaskaskia. Felicite was educated, doubtless, at the Catholic school at Kaskaskia, and the

²⁶ Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, 169.

²⁷ Ford, *op. cit.*, 24; Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, 169-170.

²⁸ J. J. Thompson, "Catholic Statesman of Illinois," *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, III, (1920), 209 ff.; Lawrence Kenny, S.J., "Some First Ladies of Illinois" *Idem*, 122 ff. Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, 162.

effect upon Kane of her religious faith must have been great for he was extremely devoted to his wife and family, and his last hours, as he lay dying in Washington, were spent in recalling the scenes of his family life and the names of his dear ones were frequently upon his lips. We do not know the exact date of his conversion but a newspaper notes that "sometime previous to his death the Hon. Gentleman had embraced the Catholic Religion of which he had become a regular and edifying member."²⁹

Elias Kane unfortunately lived but a brief life, dying in his early forties while serving his second term as senator. Of his death the *National Intelligencer* remarks: ". . . Hon. E. K. Kane, Senator from the State of Illinois, expired at the residence of his father in this city Friday last (Dec. 12) after a severe illness of a few days, aged forty-three years." The funeral was held in the old senate chamber and the President and heads of departments were present. Then the body of the senator was brought back to Kaskaskia and lay in state in the parish church for one day. On the following day a solemn High Requiem Mass was sung and Father Borgna, the Vicar General of the diocese, delivered the funeral oration.³⁰

It is unfortunate that Senator Kane died so early in his political career, for he was a brilliant lawyer, a discerning statesman, and a politician of integrity and high moral character. Politicians of this calibre seem too rare. Today America, with the problems of the World tossed into her lap, has great need of more men of the intellectual and moral character of Elias Kent Kane.

²⁹ The baptismal record of Mrs. Kane can be found in the records of the parish church at Kaskaskia, referred to above, under date of 1790. Cf. also the newspaper, *The Shepherd of the Valley* under date of March 5, 1836, and the editorial for Jan. 16, 1836.

³⁰ Kane died on Dec. 12, 1835. His body did not reach Kaskaskia until April 29, 1836. The trip from Washington to Kaskaskia was long and tedious and during Spring weather the roads were not always passable. Cf. Dunbar, *op. cit.*, chapter xxxiv.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

MEDIEVAL

Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050-1230, by John Hine Mundy. New York. Columbia Univ. Press. 1954. pp. 410. \$6.50.

This is a carefully constructed and thoroughly documented study in the constitutional history of the town of Toulouse from the years 1050-1150 (the formation of the community) through 1150-1230 (the rise of the town) with special emphasis on the period from 1189-1230. The author finds that the period 1189-1230 was "medieval Toulouse's age of liberty," for during that period the count, although he had retained constitutional precedence, had become merely the "executor of the consuls' will". Although Toulouse did not succeed in conquering the surrounding countryside, this attempt at "expansion" and the pressure for broader representative institutions within the city were the chief marks of that "republican spirit" which characterized Toulouse until the end of the period of this study (1230).

The year 1230 was chosen as the terminal date of the essay because after this time the power of the prince began to develop, aided by such factors as the increased study of Roman Law, in the newly founded university of Toulouse for example, and the advent of Alphonse of Poitiers (prince of France and brother of St. Louis) who succeeded Raymond VII in 1249. By 1271 Toulouse was absorbed into the royal domain; and, though ennobled with many privileges, was no longer a free community.

The wealth of notes and explanatory appendices cover more pages (pp. 168-386) than does the actual text itself (pp. 1-167). There is also a lengthy bibliographical section and an index. Sometimes the notes are or seem to be of greater help and importance than the text, but the whole work is fortified with a wealth of factual details and makes much use of local French historical materials not generally accessible to English readers. The book gives the teacher of medieval history an insight into the amount of careful work that must be done with many other centers besides Toulouse before we can begin to fully appreciate the many-sidedness of medieval political life. The author has set a fine example for other researchers into this type of material.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

Saint Bridget of Sweden, by Johannes Jorgensen. Translated from the Danish by Ingeborg Lund. New York. Longmans Green and Co. 1954. Vol. I, pp. xiv, 310; Vol. II, pp. x, 354. \$8.50.

This is the life of one of the most celebrated of Scandinavian saints written by one of the best known Scandinavian converts. Vol. I, 1303-1349, depicts the saint's life in Sweden. Married at the age of thirteen, she became the mother of eight children, one of them Saint Catherine. As she became known for her saintly life and extensive charity her life brings us into contact with many famous contemporaries, the king, Magnus Eriksson, and distinguished clerics and laymen. She founded a new religious order, the Order of St. Saviour. To obtain confirmation of this order she went to Rome. This step brings us to Volume II.

In Rome and other cities of the peninsula—she made frequent pilgrimages to holy places—she continued what was really her life mission: the spiritual uplifting of clergy and laity through her good example and her frequent, earnest admonitions to lead a better life. At the age of about seventy she made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and on her return shortly after died in Rome.

Actually this work is not just the life of the saint. If it were, it could easily have been written in one volume. Rather it is an account of the greater part of the fourteenth century in which the saint lives and works. A few examples: the reader is made acquainted at great length with the manner of life of the nobles in Sweden. There is a long description—at times not too edifying—of the state of the clergy in that land. There is a lengthy disquisition on Avignon and the state of the papacy. Volume II has brilliant descriptions of medieval Rome: the coronation of Charles IV, the temporary return of the papacy in the person of Urban V, and particularly the fantastic history of Cola di Rienzo. The work is full of learning, the fruit of wide reading and research.

Moreover, there is much incidental erudition thrown in *en passant*, e.g. St. Bridget's visit to Tarascon gives the author the opportunity to dilate on the Provençal traditions connected with St. Martha and her sister, St. Mary Magdalen.

As the genial author candidly admits in the preface to the second volume, he must have plenty of elbow room to weave in his own personal whims—and we are grateful to him for this. There are humorous and ironical asides drawn from the author's own varied experiences in the Italy he loves so dearly and from the anecdotes with which his mind is richly stored. The work is written in a leisurely style and to be enjoyed must be read leisurely.

There are copious notes placed at the end of each volume, and each volume is provided with a very satisfactory index. Volume I contains an essay on the sources. The whole work, especially the first volume, would have been improved by a few maps, for, as a rule, people are not too familiar with place names in Sweden in the Middle Ages.

A few small corrections, mainly typographical, may be suggested: Vol. I, "Boniface" for "Bonifacius", p. 159; "Saviour" for "Savour", p. 223; Clement V was elected pope 1305, not 1304, p. 159; Vol. II, "woman" for "women", p. 25; "fulgure" for "fulgare", p. 78; Constantinople was captured by the Turks in 1453, not 1430, p. 335.

The translation seems to be well done and is very readable.

Edward Hagemann, Alma College, California.

The Thirteenth Century, by Sir Maurice Powicke. Oxford. 1953. pp. 843. \$8.00.

It has been said that the present volume in the *Oxford History of England* is quite different from its fellows in the series and there would seem to be some justice in the remark. The book is a lengthy work (almost 850 pages) covering a single century of the small, medieval state of England, and even in that restricted area the writer has chosen his points of emphasis with care—some would say with too much care. The general literary and artistic side of the picture, for example, is almost completely relegated to

bibliographical notes; the constitutional approach is not nearly as prominent as some might wish; on the other hand, the details of the other parts of the historical narrative become so full at times that the average reader, not too familiar with English or Anglo-French nobility of the day, may have some trouble identifying references. But all these things stem precisely from those historical virtues of the author which makes the book so valuable.

Professor Powicke frequently writes almost as if he had been present "when all these things were happening". He has read so widely and entered so deeply into the events of the age that one constantly has the feeling that he is seeing things through the judicious eyes of a well-informed contemporary. This is not to say that the work is a picturesque chronicle; it is far more than that. Professor Powicke has always evidenced deep sympathy with the subjects about which he wrote, an attitude extremely important for, but not always present in, medieval historians. But it is more than sympathy which is in evidence; it is an understanding—an understanding born of long, serious study and historical meditation upon the problems and the solutions, the foibles and the heroic deeds of the men and women of the political and ecclesiastical world of thirteenth century England.

The book is at times difficult; to some it may be even tedious. But the study of it will instill into the reader not only knowledge but a sympathy with, an understanding of, and an appreciation for, medieval problems and their solutions which will far outweigh the effort spent in mastering the text. This volume is a fitting capstone to Professor Powicke's lifework of striving to make the modern understand the medieval—at least in as far as we can.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

The Genius of Italy, by Leonardo Olschi. Ithaca, N. Y. Cornell. 1954. pp. vii, 481. \$5.00.

Originally published by the Oxford University Press, this stimulating and rewarding study has been reissued by Cornell University Press. It consists in seventeen essay-type discussions of salient aspects of Italian civilization as they have evolved particularly during the Middle Ages. It includes the influences of geography, ethnography, the Church, the era of Germanic ascendancy, and political evolution, as well as literature and learning, the arts and sciences, thought and music. The final chapter brings Italian development from the sixteenth century to date, and concludes with contemporary problems. The work is substantial and rewarding to the reader. It displays considerable erudition and thoughtful insight. It is written in the vein of a "grand interpretation," which keeps largely on the level of main currents and developments. Hence it does not make for rapid reading. And its broad generalizations are often subject to question, or cry for qualification, as when Olschi states that the medieval system of Christian morals lacked an ethical code for practical life (p. 369). Or when he asserts that "Pius IX and his successors" maintained an "attitude of uncompromising medievalism" (p. 452). Olschi's denomination of ecclesiastical and secular currents in Italian life as "Guelf" and "Ghibelline" respectively is also somewhat confusing from an historical viewpoint (Chapter 6 and else-

where). Despite several such overstatements and frequent cryptic titles, Olschi's essays are enlightening for anyone endeavoring to gain an understanding of Italian history and of how Italy has come to be what it is.

A few interesting observations and theses may be cited. Thus Olschi maintains that man, more than nature, is responsible for the present day agricultural limitations of Italy and Sicily (p. 4). The key political policy of the Papacy during the period of its temporal power was the attempt to prevent the unification of Milan and Naples (p. 38). One of the great appeals of the early Church to the Italian people consisted in its democratic features (p. 42). A turning point for the worse in the history of the medieval Papacy was its alliance with Charles of Anjou, which eventually caused it to become unduly subject to the French (p. 107). Franciscanism brought about a revolutionary increase of naturalism, realism, and popularism in Italian art and literature (pp. 77-85). Medieval learning and universities had the advantage of a unifying and universal theoretical foundation, but their predominantly intellectual features and methods hampered (O.: prevented) the direct absorption of the empirical world (pp. 369, ff.). The cleavage between Italian philosophy and science was fostered by such Papal actions as the condemnation of Galileo and the prohibition against teaching the Copernican hypothesis in the early seventeenth century, and has had a deadly influence on both (pp. 387-400). The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1773 occasioned a revolution in Italian education and culture (pp. 438-439). Italian international relations since unification have been determined by the circumstance that Italy was at once the weakest of the great European powers and the greatest of the minor nations (p. 449). One problem of the new Christian Democratic Party in Italy is that it endeavors to be at the same time dogmatic in spirit and democratic in method (p. 464). In general, Olschi's *Genius of Italy* helps to explain the evolution of the mind and soul of the Italian people, yet in so doing sometimes steps beyond the bounds of strict objectivity, as some of the above examples may have served to illustrate. To some extent this may be a result of the tendency to rhetorical exaggeration or lack of qualification which Olschi says is an Italian trait.

Daniel D. McGarry, Saint Louis University.

Galen of Pergamon, by George Sarton. Univ. of Kansas Press. 1954. pp. 112. \$2.50.

This scholarly work by a master of the history of science represents the material presented by George Sarton as the Clendening Lectures at the University of Kansas in 1952. As the author points out in his preface, there is an immense difference between a spoken lecture and the same material when consigned to paper. Although the main body of the book occupies only ninety pages, it presents a vast amount of material on one of the greatest figures in medical history as well as a clear portrayal of the times in which he lived and the influence of his prodigious labors. The ample documentation in text and footnotes detracts somewhat from the smoothness and ease with which Sarton's listeners must have absorbed his story of Galen. Despite this, there emerges a brilliant picture of Galen as a personality, while the personality of Sarton shows through in many places.

In his acquaintance with commentaries on Galen, the medical student of today is likely to recall principally the imperfections in Galen's knowledge, the fallacies in his reasoning and the deleterious effects which his later admirers exerted on the progress of scientific medicine during later centuries. This book serves admirably to emphasize the constructive and enduring aspects of Galen's life and work and to place him in proper perspective. The real stature of Galen as a physician is well demonstrated by Sarton's measuring him against the royal physicians of Louis XIV; the comparison with these seventeenth century physicians is decidedly to Galen's advantage. This scholarly study of one of the greatest figures in scientific history can be enthusiastically recommended.

Dr. C. R. Hanlon, School of Medicine, Saint Louis University.

The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture With Special Emphasis on the Belgian Scene, by Ernest W. McDonnell. New Brunswick, New Jersey. Rutgers University Press. 1954. pp. xvii, 643. \$10.00.

This excellent work provides the first full English-language treatment of the Beguines and Beghards. The term Beguine—its origin is obscure and disputed—designates the laywomen, normally without vows, or without public vows, who singly or in groups gave themselves to a life of devotion and religious and charitable works while remaining more or less "in the world." Beghards were the far less numerous laymen who lived a similar life.

Professor McDonnell studies with great care and lucidity the interlacing of religious, social, economic, and other drives which resulted in the emergence of Beguines and Beghards, showing the close connection of these lay groups with the middle classes at a time when, by contrast, the great abbeys of religious orders were in the hands of the higher nobility and largely populated by them. Developing an often profound piety which was able to assimilate the middle-class sense of industry and respect for hard work, the beguinages flourished particularly from the twelfth through the fourteenth centuries in the mercantile society of present-day Belgium, Holland, and up through the Rhineland into Germany, with some parallels in southern France.

This geographical pattern calls attention to the relationship between the Beguine and Beghard piety approved by the Church and Protestant piety, particularly of the Calvinist sort. This latter is a middle-class piety developed later in much the same milieu.

The story of the Beguines and Beghards is especially interesting today when new secular institutes are being founded to make the Church present in places where she has not been effectively present in the contemporary commercial world. The Beguines and Beghards were the forerunners of these lay institutes—as well as, to some extent, of modern religious orders and congregations given to works of mercy outside the cloister. The inability of Catholic churchmen to mobilize permanently the psychological forces which the Beguines and Beghards represented in medieval and Renaissance society was one of the great tragedies of the Church, for it helped create the void between Catholicism and industrial and commercial life which has been one of the great scandals of the past few centuries of Continental European history.

Walter J. Ong, Saint Louis University.

MODERN

Fatima in the Light of History, by Costa Brochado, adaptation-translation by G. C. Boehrer. Milwaukee. Bruce. 1955. pp. 243. \$4.50.

The "New" Portugal of these middle decades of the century is stable, peaceable, economically sound, progressively democratic and Catholic—and created largely by prayerful attention to Our Lady of Fatima, who repeats for us in the twentieth century her advice to the waiters at Cana, "Whatever He bids you, do it." The "Old" Portugal of the nineteenth and early twentieth century was tumultuous, anarchic, bankrupt, jacobin, 'godless'—and created by foisting upon the country the worst evils of the Napoleonic Era. This book by Brochado, here translated and skilfully adapted for America, shows, against the backdrop of Portugal's own troubled history, that Mary, Mother of the Word-made-Flesh, is the sweetly mighty one without peer, the Greatest Woman of the Twentieth Century. It is almost worth reading this book to see that there was a strong Rosary Movement amongst the defenceless Catholics of Portugal, prior to the apparitions, people who had been stripped of nearly everything Religion could afford them. It was the weapon taken up by the Lovely Lady.

The author followed the story up to May 13, 1946, when Our Lady of Fatima was crowned as Queen of the Portuguese, Pope Pius XII making his address by radio to Lisbon's crowded squares. What the book did not envisage is that never-ended journey of the Pilgrim-Virgin to the farthest ends of the earth, or her solemn proclamation, in 1955, of her universal Queenship.

In the custody of the Bishop of Leira meanwhile is a sealed envelope, containing Lucia's great secret. The directions on the envelope say it is not to be opened until 1960. All that Lucia would ever say of this secret is that is something good for those who believe in God. As 1960 draws closer more and more people will be studying the message of Fatima, and appraising it in the light of Portugal's former greatness, and present promise. This is one of the best books for the purpose.

Gerald Ellard, Saint Mary's College, Kans.

Prophecy and Papacy, by Alec R. Vidler. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1954. pp. 300. \$3.75.

This book is the expanded and annotated version of the Birkbeck Lectures delivered in 1953 by Dr. Vidler as "A Study of Lamennais, The Church, and the Revolution." Dr. Vidler considers Lamennais "one of the most remarkable men that have ever lived. . . . He was the founder, if anyone was, of modern ultramontaniam, and of liberal catholicism, and perhaps of christian socialism."

The author does not attempt to write a biography of Lamennais. He stops his study in 1836, when Lamennais broke finally and definitely from Rome. But his tracing of Lamennais' early life is the most complete writing on this subject in English. (As far as the reviewer knows there is only one full-length study in English on Lamennais, Gibson's *The Abbé de Lamennais and the Liberal Catholic Movement in France* (1896). The author maintains that underneath all Lamennais' changes there lay the consistent

objective of social regeneration. The means he advocated changed, in Vidler's opinion, but the objective remained throughout his life—at least until after 1836. His conflict with the Holy See is analyzed in terms of "prophet" and "priest", with Lamennais having the virtues and failings of the typical prophet and Gregory XVI the virtues and shortcomings of the typical priest. Such analysis, if not pushed too far, seems reasonably valid.

This is a scholarly study based on careful and long research among all the pertinent documents. The historian of the nineteenth century is inclined to offer only one major criticism: Dr. Vidler attributes too much in the way of influence and importance to Lamennais. Developments in the Church and in the nineteenth century would have gone on pretty much as they did if there had never been a Lamennais. He personified in striking fashion attitudes and approaches that were present in more restrained fashion in many others, in associates of his like Montalembert, in Lacordaire and Ozanam. Lamennais was typical of the romantic age and the revival in the Church that did not succeed. It is easy to see how so striking an individual can seem even more important than he was, and it is not a serious fault to over-estimate the importance of one's subject.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University.

The Portable Renaissance Reader. Edited, and with an Introduction, by James Bruce Ross and Mary Martin McLaughlin. New York. The Viking Press. 1953. pp. 756. \$2.50.

The last quarter of a century has witnessed a very considerable shift in Renaissance studies. The major intellectual activity of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries has been and continues to be reinterpreted in the light of what Renaissance thinkers themselves actually said rather than in the light of what subsequent scholars have attributed to them. This return to the sources has resulted in a much truer if less naively simple idea of the whole period of the Renaissance.

To come to this fuller understanding of this very complicated period of history a knowledge of the languages (both Latin and the vernaculars) in which the great Renaissance figures wrote is imperative. But to equip a broader public not at home in these languages with a knowledge of the sources, translations are very much needed. Such translations have been appearing in increasing numbers and have even begun to be anthologized for handy reference. *The Portable Renaissance Reader* is a good example of a brief collection of translations from works of important Renaissance figures that are hard to come by even separately and much more difficult to find between two covers. Boccaccio, Cellini, Petrarch, Leonardo da Vinci, Machiavelli, Savonarola, Tasso, Cervantes, Montaigne, Rabelais, Ronsard, Luther, and Calvin are a few of the Renaissance figures whose works are excerpted and translated here. Actually over a hundred Renaissance writers are represented in the collection ranging in time from 1400 to 1600 and in space through Italy, France, Germany, Spain, the Lowlands, and England. Some of these excerpts appear in translation here for the first time.

This little reader is an invaluable supplement to the previously published *Portable Medieval Reader* and a fine companion to *The Portable Elizabethan Reader*.

M. B. McNamee, Saint Louis University.

The Reformation Writings of Martin Luther, Volume I, The Basis of the Protestant Reformation. Edited by Bertram Lee Woolf. New York. Philosophical Library. 1953. pp. 402. \$6.00.

This volume is a selective sampling of Martin Luther's writings between 1517 and 1520. Included are the 95 Thesis, several letters and sermons together with his three "major" reformation pamphlets: *An den Christlichen Adel deutsche Nation von des Christlichen Standes Besserung*; *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praeludium*; and *Von der Freyheit Christen Menschen*. The editor has based his translations on the definitive Weimar edition (*D. Martin Luthers Werke*, Weimar 1883 ff).

Mr. Woolf's sympathetic and excellent edition of these writings is most welcome for it has been a decade since Luther's writings last appeared in English (H. E. Jacobs [ed] *Works of Martin Luther*, 6 vols. [Philadelphia: 1915-32]). It is to be hoped that this volume is the forerunner of many more.

Now four centuries after Luther accomplished his break from Roman Catholicism, one finds that modern historians of the Protestant movement have lost much of the vituperation of preceding centuries. The phenomena of Protestantism can best be understood and analyzed by reading the works of its leaders, and it is unhistorical and unsound merely to hurl invectives and anathemas at these Protestant figures. What is needed is intelligent understanding, and reasonably objective analyses. Unfortunately, Mr. Woolf's introduction to this volume does not measure up to this reviewer's concept of objectivity.

For one thing it is difficult to understand the editor's constant reference to Luther's consistency. That Luther could, and did change his opinions, is in itself no disgrace. Luther was not a divine prophet incapable of error; he was an ordinary mortal, obsessed by a desire to find surety of salvation: this desire produced inconsistencies and contradictions which reflect on his mortality and his efforts to find the "truth."

In a similar vein, Mr. Woolf does the Catholic Church an injustice by his carping attacks on her and her institutions. To understand Lutheranism is not necessary to misunderstand Catholicism. Such methods do little to create an atmosphere of mutual understanding. Nevertheless, this volume is an important contribution to the study of the sixteenth century and those who profit by a reading of Luther's writings can thank Mr. Woolf.

Clarence L. Hohl, Jr., Saint Louis University.

Cavour and Garibaldi 1860, by D. Mack Smith. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. 1954. pp. xii, 458. \$8.50.

1860 is a critical and a momentous year in Italian history. In that year Piedmont-Sardinia more than doubled its size by the acquisition of Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and parts of the Papal States. Moreover, the southern half of the peninsula and the island of Sicily were annexed to Piedmont-Sardinia, and thus early in 1861 the new Kingdom of Italy was proclaimed. This year is important for its effect on subsequent Italian history because many of Italy's policies and problems were created by the way in which unification took place in 1860.

Mr. Smith makes an exhaustive study of revolutionary politics in this year "to discover more about some of the main impulses which helped to

make events take the course they did; in particular to distinguish the aims of the several revolutionary parties, and the contribution which each made to success." His study is based on documentary evidence, of which there is an abundant supply, and his conclusions are justified by the convincing evidence he presents. This book modifies the general opinion of English-speaking historians in one important respect: it shows the radical group—supporters of Garibaldi—more capable and more realistic than the liberal historians, devotees of Cavour, have pictured them to be. This monograph is a model for other needed studies from which the general outlines of such a subject as the unification of Italy can be accurately drawn.

Thomas P. Neill, Saint Louis University.

The Origin of Russia, by Henryk Paszkiewicz. New York. Philosophical Library. 1954. pp. xii + 556 + 2 maps. \$10.00.

Historians who are specialized in the history of one nation frequently reveal the lack of broader horizons. To be a universal historian is today an extremely difficult task and the attempt to be one often produces writings that are superficial and a kind of journalism. The best choice is perhaps studies in the history of contiguous countries. This is the conception of regional studies as promoted in this country.

H. Paszkiewicz, an expert in early Polish history, has devoted his latest book, apparently the result of assiduous work, to the problems of the origin of Russia. The method he pursues is to stick to the facts as presented in the sources and to eliminate the distortions of reality which are numerous in many works of official Soviet scholarship (and not only there!), with its tendency to rewrite history according to the requirements of politics and patriotic attitude. Paszkiewicz is right in showing that for the 9-13th centuries one may not ascribe to the Eastern Slavs any feeling for national unity in the modern sense of the word, as well as in asserting that no Russia as a Slavic national entity existed at that time. He proves that tribes were preserved in Eastern Europe much longer than it is usually assumed, under the superimposed rule of princes of Scandinavian descent. He rightly emphasizes, finally, that even during the short periods of political unity in Eastern Europe of that time, the state cannot be identified with modern Russia either in its nature and make-up or in its subsequent tradition. To distinguish the two "Russias" he uses for the period which he describes the name of Rus, known from all the written sources of the epoch, rather than the name which became predominant later, Russia.

Yet Paszkiewicz's book is far from being always convincing and unbiased. It was of no avail to restrict his sources to written ones only and to discard archeological and linguistic data, with but few exceptions. On the other hand, when Paszkiewicz does use linguistic data he employs them in a strikingly unsatisfactory, not to say ignorant, manner. And even his written sources, except for the chronicles, are not always used at first hand. Is it not strange, e.g., to quote from the *Vita Cyrilli* from *Ancient Russia* by G. Vernadsky, with all the respect due to the latter book?

And yet the key to all the problems treated in Paszkiewicz's book is linguistic. In his analysis of the chronicles he tries to prove that the meaning of the word *Rus* was twofold after the Scandinavians had arrived in the Kiev area: it stood for the area and for the newcomers; but in the

combination *Russkyi jazyk* (Russian people) he feels that it should have referred to the religion or rite of Constantine and Methodius. Thus the expansion of the name outside of Kiev area is ascribed to the religious meaning of the word only.

In 1876 Potebnja warned against the attempts to open all doors in a historical work with one key. If the key fails the whole work is frustrated. This has happened to Paszkiewicz's book. He has not been able to demonstrate the meaning of faith or rite in the word *jazyk*, which means language, people, nation and country. His examples may be easily accounted for by the quoted connotations of the word. There is no doubt, particularly after the article by Rybakov in *Sovetskaja Arxeologija* 17 (not mentioned by Paszkiewicz) that *Rus* actually originally denoted the Kiev area, but then gradually was used to cover other principalities. Thus it acquired a political connotation, and there is no more reason to deny it than to identify this meaning with that of modern time. Of course, it did not imply the presence of a strong national feeling in the people or the existence of what for our time is the Russian nation. But it developed toward the meaning of designating territories governed by the dynasty of Rurikides.

As to the foundation of the state in Kiev and in *Rus* as a whole, Paszkiewicz supports the Norse theory. In the opinion of the present writer this is correct, although Paszkiewicz does not know the crucial proofs for this thesis presented in *Varangica* by A. Stender-Petersen. On the other hand, he indulges in many exaggerations, as, e.g., in contending that Metropolitan Ilarion of Kiev was a Varangian, or that one branch of Rurikides left Kiev in the 12th century because of a fear of being Slavized, and founded another *Rus* on the upper Volga and its tributaries, which however, strangely enough, proved to be Slavic also in its language and culture!

One must ask whether Paszkiewicz does not manifest another bias than that represented by Soviet and some other Russian historians, an anti-Russian bias. This apprehension is confirmed when the author completely denies the Slavic character of Muscovy and even calls her the second, i.e., Finnish *Rus*, as opposed to Kievan *Rus*, which was essentially Slavic. Paszkiewicz is of the opinion that no Slavic colonization took place in the provinces of Suzdal, Vladimir and Moscow, which were and allegedly have remained Finnish. The question arises why the population now speaks a Slavic and not a Finnish language. This, in the author's opinion, is due to the influence of the princes and the church. Yet it is his contention that the Varangians, and the princes, obviously, as well, preserved the Norse language until the 13th and even the 14th century (pp. 181, 263). Correct or not (actually this is without doubt an ungrounded statement), this precludes the influence of the princes. As to the church, it propagated the Church-Slavonic language, and not Russian. Paszkiewicz is right when he attacks the simplified assumption that Muscovite *Rus* was the direct successor of Kievan *Rus*. The relations here are much more intricate. But a simplification in a direction opposite to the usual one is no solution to the problem.

This fault is typical of Paszkiewicz's book. He senses, for the most part, what is wrong in traditional approaches and endeavors to revise them. But, carried away by his task, he loses, time and again, all objectivity necessary to solve any problem. This could be illustrated by very many examples.

I shall mention but one more. Paszkiewicz feels correctly that the tribes on the territory of what now is the Ukraine did not originally create a unity. The tribes residing west of the Polyanians, who inhabited the Kiev area, belonged to a different type of Slavic tribes. Linguistically this was proved by Hancov, Kurylo and others. Paszkiewicz knows nothing of these achievements. The more, then, to his credit that he quite independently has felt this from the purely historical material. But after stating this he again begins to exaggerate and assert that these tribes were merely Polish, i.e., Western Slavic. Again the question arises as to when and how they lost their Polish language, and how it was possible that they do not now reveal any typical Polish feature in the oldest strata of their phonology and morphology? Paszkiewicz forgets that division into Eastern Slavic and Western Slavic is a phenomenon which developed gradually and which is not primordial. Moreover, it is rather due to the influence of cultural and political factors. The tribes in question were originally a natural bridge between the tribes of "Kiev" and those of "Cracow". They became involved in different political combinations and cultural spheres, and acquired the character which they possess now and also possessed in the period under consideration.

Perhaps the most interesting and conclusive part of Paszkiewicz's book is its appendix on the existence of a Metropolitan see for the Slavic rite in Poland in the 10-11th cent. Though Paszkiewicz's account here is not devoid of some inaccurate statements and unsolved questions, (e.g., if the Slavic rite came from Moravia and not from the East, why did it apparently use the Cyrillic alphabet and not the Glagolitic?), nor of overstatements (e.g., the war waged against Mazovia ca. 1041 is explained as a religious war caused by the fact that Mazovia allegedly adhered to the Slavic rite, thus opposing the major part of Poland), here he is at home in the range of familiar problems and, particularly, he is not blinded by a preconceived desire to find in his sources what he supposes must be found.

It would require much more space to point out all the inner contradictions and incorrect details in Paszkiewicz's book. As a whole it does not show the origin of Russia, nor solve any other major problems in the history of Eastern Europe in the 9-13th cent. Still it has some merit. It has collected most of weak points in the traditional approach to the history of Eastern Europe and, in this way, despite all its deficiencies, perhaps even thanks to them, calls for revision. It is clear that to transfer to the epoch under investigation the idea of the later "single Russia" contradicts the historical data, as likewise does the search for the three "ready-made" modern Eastern Slavic nations—the Russians, the Ukrainians, and the Belorussians—at that time. The history of the Slavs in Eastern Europe was neither the history of subsequent division of the original unity nor the isolated development of the three isolated nations. It consisted of divergencies, and convergencies, and regroupings. It is the historians' task to unearth them from oblivion and from the deliberate distortions dictated by politics, and not to create other politically conditioned distortions. Of course, collaboration with archeologists and linguists would contribute to an objective examination of data.

George Y. Shevelov, Columbia University.

The Life and Times of Lucrezia Borgia. Maria Bellonci. Translated by Bernard and Barbara Wall. New York. Harcourt Brace and Company, 1953. pp. 343. \$5.00.

This biography of a very controversial figure, previously translated into eight different languages, appears here for the first time in English.

Lucrezia Borgia was at the very center of all that political intrigue and warring ambition that made sixteenth-century Italy such an exciting but dangerous place in which to live. Daughter of the Borgia Pope, Alexander VI, and sister to the original Machiavellian prince, Cesare Borgia, Lucrezia herself became something of a pawn in her family's play for political power and position. Married thrice in the interests of her family, she engaged in several love intrigues on the side in true "courtly love fashion" for her own interests.

Even the soberest history of the Borgias is unsavory enough, but in course of time so much fiction has clustered around it that the Borgia myth is far more lurid than the sober facts of history warrant. Serious historians like von Pastor in his *History of the Popes* have taken pains to unravel the facts from the fiction. Even the facts are shocking enough, but they reveal that none of the Borgias were quite the monsters they appear to be in the Borgia myth.

Signora Bellonci's extensive research for this biography of Lucrezia has put at her disposal a great deal of material not used by previous biographers. She makes the explosion of some of the myth not warranted by the sources part of her avowed purpose in the book; but, oddly enough, what she explodes with sources on one hand she quietly restores with innuendo on the other. When one finishes the book, he feels that, as far as anything Maria Bellonci has done, the Borgia myth stands just about where it has always stood.

However, one thing the author has done is to make Lucrezia a really credible human being and not a mere villanous intriguer. Part of her credibility results from the authentic atmosphere in which she moves. In fact, I would say that the chief value of this book lies not in its revaluation of Lucrezia (we had better go to the more sober historians for that) but in its fascinating picture of one moment of the Italian High Renaissance. The book is very well written.

M. B. McNamee, Saint Louis University.

The Soviet Regime, Communism in Practice, by W. W. Kulski. Syracuse, N. Y. Syracuse University Press. pp. 807. 1954. \$8.00.

Professor Kulski has written a book on Soviet Russia which should be of special help to the average teacher of history whose researches lie in a different field and whose time for reading in Soviet materials is strictly limited by such prosaic things as term papers to correct and class schedules to fulfill. The author writes "sympathizing deeply with those millions of Soviet people who are the subjects of a few ruling politicians."

In Part I he deals "with the problems of the Soviet-educated man" whose mental horizon is limited by the straitjackets of ruthless censorship and "intellectual conformity", while in Part II he goes on to analyze the position of the "Soviet citizen who in the Soviet Union is strictly a subject". Part III aids us to understand the Soviet industrial worker at labor under his

Communist masters, while Part IV offers "the grim picture of the condition of the Soviet peasant". Part V was occasioned by the death of Stalin and treats of post-Stalinist developments.

To this reviewer the most interesting parts of the book are the very many lengthy quotations translated from Russian magazines, newspapers and books which mirror the type of materials to which the Russian "intellectual" has access and form the mental diet to which he is restricted. The explanation of the Soviet citizens' views about the Free World become much more intelligible in the light of what reading they can obtain. The average person who has eaten, heard of, and seen nothing but beans all his life long would naturally not believe in a menu. The Russian intellectual is in much the same position with regard to about everything except the Party Line which some might compare to a strict diet of beans. This book is a good indication of the type of problem which the Free World will have to face in matters of re-education of Soviet "citizens" when and if it breaks through the Iron Curtain.

L. J. Daly, Saint Louis University.

The Long Parliament, 1640-1641, by Mary Frear Keeler. Philadelphia. American Philosophical Society. 1954. pp. ix, 410. \$6.00.

Quite appropriately, we have just reviewed the work of Brunton and Pennington on *Members of the Long Parliament* (*The Historical Bulletin*, January 1955). For the book under review operates, it might be said, within the larger framework of study of the Long Parliament as a whole—and this study plunges us directly into the still larger question of the origins, the loyalties, and the significances of the Civil War in seventeenth-century English history. Where the British historians aimed to analyze the biographical and family histories of the 800 MP's who sat between 1640 and 1653 and attempted successfully to show differences and similarities between Royalists and Parliamentarians, Mrs. Keeler focuses on the 547 members who made up the House of Commons in the crucial months of 1640-1641, but does not address herself directly to the problem of contrasts between the two parties. In her book, Part I offers a "Portrait of a Parliament" and Part II discusses "Elections and Returns"; by far the bulk is Part III, "Biographical Dictionary of the Parliament Men" (324 of 410 double columned pages). There is a brief index to Part I only.

Comparison between the British *Members of the Long Parliament* and the present work are inevitable and may prove informative and heuristic. Mrs. Keeler, lacking the boon of a Tawney introduction, begins at a greater distance, with Venn's writing in 1640 to Governor Winthrop, then springs upon Carlyle's phrase about the MP's as "little more than ticketed shadows": who were the men, she asks, and what were their family ties, their backgrounds, qualifications, loyalties? Mrs. Keeler is working on membership from fall 1640 to December 1641, and she computes a total of 547; Brunton and Pennington extend their period of "Original Members" to August 1642, and by adding those returned in by-elections reach a total of 552. In Part I, Mrs. Keeler generalizes about the Long Parliament membership; particularly valuable are her sections commenting on "Variations in Views on Religion," the "Experience of the Members in Parliaments and Public Life," the age and wealth of the members, and a final section on

educational background. On the educational background there are some differences between these two studies, which are impossible to reconcile, even after weighing the initial differences in total membership. Brunton and Pennington declare that 280 attended either Oxford or Cambridge, Mrs. Keeler 309 ("possibly 321"); the first declare that 310 had been to one of the Inns of Court; Mrs. Keeler, 331. Obviously these differences are significant enough to affect the validity of the generalizations based upon them. When we look more closely at the evidence from which these statistics are drawn, the admissions registers of the inns, we can understand that it is impossible to be completely certain about many identifications, working with presently available knowledge. (In Mrs. Keeler's account the difference between Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery is blurred: for she writes, "With the four inns whose records have been published most fully—Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, the Inner Temple, and the Middle Temple . . ." These are the only four Inns of Court. When she then writes of "The records of the other 'inns'" she is referring to the lesser Inns of Chancery.) And when Mrs. Keeler generalizes about the number of Parliamentarians trained at the Inns of Court she overlooks two significant factors. One (which Brunton and Pennington pick up very nicely), the importance of regional groupings at the Inns: "Thus Gray's Inn had more northern members than the rest put together and was also the most favoured by the Midlands and the counties of the Eastern Association, while in Wales and the border counties it shared the preference with Lincoln's Inn. In the counties south of the Thames it was with the Inner Temple, the least popular. The Middle Temple on the other hand, which was easily the most popular with the southern counties, had the fewest members from the rest of England. It would be dangerous to ascribe political bias to any of the Inns, as these regional groupings are likely to explain much of the difference, and the attendance of the members concerned was spread over a very long period. But even Brunton and Pennington fail apparently to take into account the difference among the Inns in the number of students, barristers and benchers. The Inns of Court may well prove to offer the most fruitful grounds for controlled study of parliamentary, and other, personnel, and perhaps the most significant because association was so intimate and so long continued—but there are many special factors in the organization and history of the Inns, of which the above two are perhaps the most important, and one must be wary of too easy and too simple an interpretation of the evidence.

Undoubtedly most students of history will find Part III, the Biographical Dictionary, of most usefulness. It is indeed an extremely valuable addition to and correction of the D.N.B., making extended use of manuscript sources (including the Pink Papers at the John Rylands Library, but also parish registers, wills, and inquisitions post mortem).

I cannot verify her handling of these manuscript sources; I cannot only say that her use of them and her control of relevant scholarships throws much light on many of the "ticketed shadows" of the Long Parliament and adds important details to our pictures of many of the others whom we had known as more than shadows. It is only occasionally that one feels that the information may not have been fully subordinated or emphasized—e.g., for Allestry, there is no indication of the significance of a readership

at Barnard's Inn (certainly of a lesser importance than a readership at one of the Inns); and one regrets that Mrs. Keeler did not feel free to discourse on connections and local history more fully and more widely ranging than she does (as Brunton and Pennington, *e.g.*, do in their chapters on the Eastern Association and the Southwest, or in their sections on the important families, like the Mildmays). And, finally, one is struck by the thought that Mrs. Keeler apparently did not regard the differences and clashes between Parliament and Royalist parties in the House in quite the same light as Brunton and Pennington, who at nearly every step attempted to show differences and similarities; for instance, pointing with profit to the fact that of the 75 barristers among the "original" members, 33 sided with the King and 42 with the Parliament, and from this concluding, contrary to much past guess-work, that lawyers were about evenly divided in proportion to the strength of the two parties in the House.

We must regard the contribution of this work in two lights, then. For its superbly rich documentation of the individual members, it must be praised with enthusiasm, as a vital contribution to the materials for our continuing study of the Long Parliament, and as an invaluable, long-needed supplement to the D.N.B. in this area. But as an historical analysis of the membership of the Long Parliament in 1640-1641, it has the limitations of its failure to control at all times the evidence on which it works and of its reluctance to search with all the sensitivity yet incisive, persistent curiosity of a surgeon's probe in its historical analysis of the problem. We could praise such achievement and charge such failure to the work of only a very honest scholar who has labored long and with love; she herself prefaces this work (for those who pursue parliamentary biography, but others may read with profit): "The farther one presses from the main travelled paths, the more one learns of the abundance of source materials available. Their richness I have sampled but their depths I have not plumbed."

R. J. Schoeck, Cornell University.

A *History of the Catholic Church*, by The Rev. Fernand Mourret, S.S. Translated by The Rev. Newton Thompson, S.T.D. Vol. VII: Period of the French Revolution (1775-1823). St. Louis. B. Herder Book Co. 1954. pp. x, 608. \$9.75.

A political, social, and intellectual crisis stands behind the French Revolution. The saintly Pope Pius VI saw the Church despoiled, persecuted and blood-drenched, and supplanted by civil religion. The facts show Talleyrand, Treilhard and Gregoire the scoundrels they were and Napoleon a power-mad bully and arrogant dictator. In shining contrast is the generous courtesy England showed to 8,000 émigré bishops and priests (p. 201) and the heroic love for God unto a bloody death of the sixteen Carmelite nuns (p. 255). It took the painstaking care of another saintly Pius and the masterful diplomacy of Cardinal Consalvi to rebuild a Church stricken in her organization, property, and clergy.

The first half of the book deals with The Revolution. Most noteworthy is The Civil Constitution of the Clergy and the consequent painful division between the juring and non-juring clergy. Outstanding men in both camps, their views and their conflicts, are described in detail. Then comes

the persecution, with the Massacres of September, at the Abbaye and the Carmelite Monastery and elsewhere, and the sad plight of those who went into exile.

This part of the book to 1799 is also covered in Pastor's *History of the Popes*, vol. 40. But the second half of the book is all the more valuable because it continues on where Pastor does not and deals with the religious restoration under Bonaparte and Louis XVIII after the Restoration of 1815. The Concordat of 1801, with all its delicate and difficult diplomatic angles, is given in detail. So are the events connected with Napoleon's coronation, divorce, and excommunication. The arrest and imprisonment of Pius VII, his sufferings and humiliations, show the Holy Father at his best: triumphant in persecution.

No one can give history so well as one who saw it in the making, eye-witnesses. They speak all through this book. One who saw the massacres at the Abbaye, for instance, says:

I saw the blood gushing in streams. "We must kill them all, they are knaves," shouted the crowd. The fourth carriage contained only corpses. . . . The bodies of the dead were thrown into the courtyard. The twelve prisoners who were still alive stepped out of the carriages to enter the hall of the civil committee; two of them were slain as soon as they set foot on the ground. The committee did not have time to proceed even to the briefest examination. A multitude armed with knives and swords poured in, snatched the prisoners and slaughtered them. (p. 186)

Next come authentic documents. These are presented in abundance, too.

In a few lines from a note found in Consalvi's papers we learn much.

The Emperor, who made them wait for two hours, said that they were blockheads. Napoleon appeared in extraordinary apparel, encompassed by his great officers, and he opened the session with a long and vehement address against the Pope. Although this discourse was a tissue of vile calumnies, none of the cardinals or bishops seem to have attempted to declare the truth against the might and power. (p. 441)

Father Thompson has done a great service to the teacher of The French Revolution and Napoleon by giving us this book in English. There are not many detailed accounts of this period in our language from the Catholic point of view. There is a fine detailed index at the end of the book, and many footnotes. In the appendix appear the text in English translation of The Declaration of the Rights of Man, The Concordat of 1801, and the Organic Articles. And because of the fine binding and large print it is a pleasure to handle and read the book.

Clarence A. Herbst, Saint Louis University.

AMERICAN

The Federalism of James A. Bayard, by Morton Borden. New York. Columbia University Press. 1955. pp. 256. \$4.00.

In what is apparently a doctoral dissertation written under the capable direction of Professor Dumas Malone of Columbia University, the author of this work does an effective job of illuminating the career of James A. Bayard, 1767-1815, and of the period of early American History. His par-

ticular objective is an evaluation of Bayard as a member of the Federalist Party both during its heyday and its decline. The study is well-done. It is thorough, scholarly, and interesting.

Three years old when his father died, Bayard was sent to live with a well-to-do uncle in Philadelphia. Trained at Princeton, he was graduated in 1784. He studied law until 1787, whereupon he returned to the land of his fathers, in Wilmington, Delaware. All the people with whom the young Bayard had associated before coming to Delaware had been Federalists, and he naturally retained the same politics afterwards. For ten years, he grew in wealth and stature as a lawyer in Delaware. In 1797 he was elected as sole Representative from that state to the Congress. He remained there until his defeat in 1802; he was reelected in 1804, but was that same year elected by the Delaware Legislature to the Senate, where he remained until his ineffectual appointment in 1813 as Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia. He returned to the United States in 1815, where shortly afterwards he died.

This book traces Bayard's career through these early years of the Republic, and in doing so also offers an illuminating account of the problems which confronted the young nation at that time. Bayard, though aligned throughout as a Federalist, proved himself both independent and moderate. On the fundamental problem of federalism, Bayard at least defined the problem correctly, and made his views thereon quite clear. As he insisted, the true grounds of the political differences between the Federalists and the anti-Federalists did not lie in their respective views toward the position of the Executive, but rather in their disagreement over the division of powers between the state and national governments. Consistently, though moderately and logically, Bayard accepted the basic Federalist interpretation of strong national power.

But Bayard's Federalism was also tempered by an inherent moderation. He tried to ameliorate certain provisions of the Alien and Sedition Acts; he changed his vote at a critical time to give Jefferson rather than Burr the Presidency; he frequently disagreed with the Essex Junto; and he accepted the post of Minister Extraordinary to end the War of 1812, knowing that he could not succeed, because he wanted to allay any disunion sentiment in New England.

All in all, this book, which is well-documented, might well be used to supplement the more general treatments of the early formative years of our national history.

Paul G. Steinbicker, Saint Louis University.

The American People in the Twentieth Century, by Oscar Handlin. Cambridge. Harvard University Press. 1954. pp. x, 244. \$3.75.

Professor Handlin in this volume of the Library of Congress Series in American Civilization is concerned with an interpretative definition of "the American." He explores the conditioning influences of the American environment (in its many facets) and of the ethnic and cultural heritage of the diverse peoples who go to make up the American people. He is concerned with the shock of collision as peoples of differing ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds brushed against each other and the problems and processes of assimilation or mutation. The relationships of groups, whether

separated by reasons of race (Indian, Negro, Oriental) or divided within a "color" group (as for instance, the whites) by reasons of nationality or religion are traced and analyzed as are "the strains of a free society" (ethnic differences, conflict over immigration policy, labor-capital tensions, etc.)

The general theme of Professor Handlin's interpretation seems to be that by reason of the voluntary nature of the American's complex and multiple associations, the mobility of his society, the developed resiliency of his character, and "the richness and strength of [his] democratic way of life," he has been able to develop a sense of "stability . . . in orderly personal relationships" which offers hope for weathering future storms.

By reason of the nature of this study, a generalized interpretation, though one may agree with Professor Handlin's over-all conclusions, there might be reason for taking exception to an occasional statement or interpretation, such as that that by the early twentieth century American Catholicism had developed an "Irish cast."

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

The Army Air Forces in World War II, Vol. VI, edited by W. F. Craven and J. L. Gate. Chicago. University of Chicago. 1955. pp. 808. \$8.50.

This book is the sixth in a series of seven volumes tracing the part played by the Army Air forces in World War II. It deals with the activities of the Army Air Arm in the Zone of the Interior. It shows that within the Zone of Interior that activity during the war was directed toward implementing the basic formula laid down by General Arnold when he described an Air Force as "a balanced compound of three essential elements—airplanes, combat and maintenance crews, and air bases."

The greater part of the volume covers in detail the origin of the Army Air Forces; Air Defense of the United States; Development of Base Facilities; Production Planning and Organization; Expansion of Aircraft Production and the Production Record; Logistical Organization; Allocation and Distribution of Aircraft; Basis of Procurement of Airmen; Foundations of the War Training Program; Basic Military Training; Individual Flight Training; Combat Crew and Unit Training; and Training of Ground Technicians and Service Personnel.

The volume is well footnoted and a complete set of notes for each chapter is found at the close of the volume. The book is highly recommended for a student of the history of the Army Air Force and its various elements in World War II.

Alexander M. Weir, Parks College of Aeronautical Technology,
Saint Louis University.

The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues, 1812-1848, by John R. Bodo. Princeton, New Jersey. Princeton University Press. 1954. pp. xiv, 291. \$5.00.

The scope of this volume is not as extensive as the title would indicate. As the Reverend Mr. Bobo points out in his preface, he is really concerned with an analysis of the theocratic pattern for action largely devised and promoted by "the educated ministry of New England and the middle states, whose theology was Calvinistic," as related to their patriotism

and "to some of the major public issues which confronted the American nation" in the years 1812-1848. Patriotism, in this instance, is defined "as the desire for one's country to conform to an ideal, as the holy zeal to make one's country what it ought to be." Among the public issues considered are "the Catholic problem," slavery, immigration, public schools, and expansionism.

Some readers of Reverend Bodo's analysis will find his discussion of "the Catholic problem" somewhat less than completely objective. Though it is true that he does scotch the long-discredited malicious tales of Maria Monk and does point out the fallacies in Morse's propaganda, he, by inference and occasionally by direct statement does not completely free himself from what one may presume to be not prejudice but rather misunderstanding. For instance, by implication, at least, one would be led to believe that undesirable immigrants came from Catholic countries only and that immigrant (and native) priests did and do exercise their power of the Sacrament of Penance for political purposes. There is also the undercurrent of inference and, sometimes, openly-made charge that there is a "traditional alliance between Roman Catholicism and political reaction, whether it be called monarchy, despotism, or facism." It is unfortunate that the author did not have the occasion to consult such writings on Catholicism and democracy as those by the convert Orestes Brownson or the recent studies on Church-State by J. Courtney Murray, S.J. And one might point out that in Europe of today (France, for example) churchmen do not support the reactionary political factions but the liberal Christian democratic groups.

While no one would quarrel with Reverend Bodo's conclusion that Blanshard's volume "furnishes proof of a new awareness among Protestants" of something, "these men [the clergymen of 1812-1848] a century ago discerned so clearly," one would deny that what they were then and are now aware of was indeed *fact*. Blanshard's book is described as "documented solely from Catholic sources," and, consequently presumed to be devastatingly accurate. Here, too, it is unfortunate that Reverend Bodo did not have the occasion to read James M. O'Neill's *Catholicism and American Freedom*. Therein Blanshard's use of his "documentation" is convincingly found guilty of unscholarliness, to say the very least. And Mr. O'Neill's judgment of those who have given support to such methods and their overtones could well apply in the instance of this present volume.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel, by C. Vann Woodward. New York. Rinehart & Company. 1955 Reissue. pp. 518. \$5.00.

When C. Vann Woodward's *Tom Watson: Agrarian Rebel* was first published in 1938, it was hailed by reviewers as a significant addition to the literature of American history. Since the date of publication, the author has added to his bibliography such significant works as *Reunion and Reaction* (1951), *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (1951), and *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955), and has established himself as the foremost historian of the New South. The reader who wishes to know more about the South of Tom Watson's day will profit from an examination of these works, particularly *Origins of the New South*.

In reissuing *Tom Watson*, Professor Woodward has not made any

changes in the original but has simply added a new preface in which he expresses the hope that his readers will allow for the change in perspective that has occurred since 1938. The present reprint of the book, like the 1938 original, has the footnotes placed at the bottom of the relevant pages and contains an annotated bibliography and an index.

Tom Watson is truly a difficult subject for biography because of the paradoxical nature of his career. Until the close of the Bryan-McKinley campaign, he was a sincere and devoted supporter of Alliance principles and the real leader of the middle-of-the-road, anti-fusionist wing of the People's party. He had the courage during the 1890's to challenge the idea of white supremacy in the South, to advocate political equality for the Negro, and to stress the common interests of Negro and white farmers. For eight years after 1896 Watson was a "political recluse" (p. 332), but then a new Tom Watson began to emerge, a Tom Watson who was a Negro-baiter, an almost pathological foe of Catholicism, and a virulent anti-Semite.

Professor Woodward is more successful in describing the first Tom Watson than he is in portraying the second. The chapters on Tom Watson the Populist are rich in insight and in interpretation and shed much light not only on Watson's career but also on the whole subject of Populism in the South. The author falters somewhat, however, in depicting Tom Watson the demagogue. The pages devoted to this phase of the agrarian rebel's career tend to be largely factual in character, and the author makes no real attempt to explain the change that had taken place in Watson. One wishes that Professor Woodward had revised at least this portion of his book.

Although the chapters in this work on Populism in the 1896 campaign are among the very best in print on the subject, this reviewer finds it difficult to subscribe to Professor Woodward's apparent belief that Populist fusionists in 1896 betrayed the cause of Populism. The People's party, after all, as a party drawing its strength almost entirely from disaffected farmers, stood little chance as an independent organization of ever capturing the presidency or gaining control of Congress. However, insofar as Populism was a factor in persuading the Democratic party to reject the laissez-faire conservatism of Grover Cleveland for the reformism of Bryan, it helped to fashion the political instrument by means of which agrarian demands were eventually to be realized. Since it was the party of Bryan, Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt that put much of the Populist program into effect, it can be argued that the significant political event of 1896 was not the passing of Populism, as Professor Woodward contends, but rather the injection of Populism into the program of the Democratic party.

Sidney Fine, University of Michigan.

Economic History of the United States, by Howard R. Smith. New York. Ronald Press. 1955. pp. x, 763. \$6.00.

Professor Smith, in writing this book, has not followed the usual framework employed by authors of American economic histories. Most such histories divide up the matter into certain broad categories such as population and labor force, agriculture, transportation, manufacturing, commerce, etc. Professor Smith prefers a more single-line chronological approach weaving the threads of economic history into the events of general

political history. In a sense this book is misnamed, it is not an "economic history of the United States," but rather an "economic history of American general politics."

The result is not without its good points. In his Preface he comments upon "the historical process" in the following words. "Economic institutions do not arise in a vacuum, nor is the form they take accidental. Rather they grow out of interactions between various interests and the pressures these interests are able to exert, and the particular form they take at any one time can only be explained in terms of conflicts, compromises, and alliances which have shaped them". Such a historical process has been very carefully and finely delineated by the author. However, the market for economic history textbooks may not be able to absorb such a treatment. The bulk of American economic history is taught in schools of business administration upon the freshman or sophomore level. The question will arise in the instructor's mind whether the author's delineation is not a bit too fine and his development too involved for the students to follow satisfactorily. An excellent book of history may not be as equally excellent when conceived as a practical teaching instrument.

Richard L. Porter, Rockhurst College.

The Story of the Declaration of Independence, text by Dumas Malone, pictures by Hirst Milhollen and Milton Kaplan. New York. Oxford University Press. 1954. pp. 282. \$10.00.

This handsome volume is a fine tribute to an historic American document. In a text that is always interesting, though occasionally rhetorical, Dumas Malone presents the framework of the developing colonial move towards the formulation of this Declaration, biographies of the signers, the growing reverence for the parchment, the vicissitudes of the document's post-Revolutionary handling and housing, and a ringing conclusion relative to its significance. Professor Malone herein gives us not only the events of greater historical moment, but skillfully weaves into his narrative homely and intriguing bits of information, such as Franklin's little story to Jefferson of John Thompson and his hatter's sign to take away some of the sting of the editorial work done on the original draft by the Congress.

Messrs. Milhollen and Kaplan have provided excellent pictorial support, combining, too, the historically more significant with the homely, as in the presentation of a portable writing desk, designed by Jefferson and used by him in drafting the Declaration. The illustrations recalling a more boisterous celebration of the Fourth of July in an almost bygone day will bring nostalgic memories of firecrackers, torpedoes and Roman candles.

All in all, the text and art work are combined to furnish a fascinating and elegant story of the Declaration of Independence.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

P. G. T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray, by T. Harry Williams. Baton Rouge. Louisiana State University Press. 1954. pp. xiii, 345. \$4.75.

The figure of Robert E. Lee so dominates Confederate military history that other Southern Generals have been neglected by historians. There are no good modern biographies of such significant figures as Samuel Cooper, L. B. Northrop, Braxton Bragg, Joseph E. Johnston, or Albert Sidney Johnston. Now one of these important forgotten Confederate leaders has

been rescued from oblivion. *P. G. T. Beauregard: Napoleon in Gray*, by Professor T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University, is a first-rate biography of a second-rate man. As one would expect from Professor Williams' earlier *Lincoln and the Radicals*, this new book is based upon elaborately exhaustive research in the sources; as one would anticipate from his more recent *Lincoln and His Generals*, it is written with skill and enthusiasm. This biography of "the most colorful of all the Confederate generals" should be read by every serious student of the Civil War.

Professor Williams' subtitle, "Napoleon in Gray," should not frighten off potential readers, for this is no panegyric, designed to prove that Beauregard was a great general. Instead, Professor Williams proves that he was a very important one, who participated in every major phase of the war from Sumter to Appomattox. By his successful capture of Fort Sumter in 1861 he became "the South's first paladin." After First Manassas, "people wrote to tell him that he was *the* great captain of the Confederacy, and the best hope for its independence." In both battles it is Professor Williams' opinion that Beauregard had been "lucky to win." At Shiloh, however, the Great Creole "gave promise, with continued experience, of developing into a useful field general," and his skilful evacuation of Corinth in face of Halleck's overwhelming force proved Beauregard "a master of hoaxes." His successful defense of Charleston demonstrated that, "whatever his defects as a field commander, he was a fine engineer." At Petersburg, he fought "his best battle of the war," and he came nearer than did Lee to understanding and anticipating Grant's objectives. Given a desperate, last-minute command of the retreating Western armies, Beauregard surrendered to the inevitable. "Circumstances which neither the courage, the endurance, nor the patriotism of our armies could overcome," he declared, "have turned my brightest anticipations, my highest hopes, into bitter disappointment." All in all, the record was a notable one, and Beauregard showed a surprising capacity for growth. Professor Williams believes he "would have developed into a very good field commander—had he been given the chance."

Naturally one wonders why the record—and the reputation—of such a general was not even better. To this problem Professor Williams gives several interesting and controversial answers. To a certain extent Beauregard's failure lay in his personality—his abnormal sensitivity, his fondness for praise, his suspicion of others. He was an injustice collector. Jefferson Davis he thought "either demented or a traitor to his high trust"; Lee he believed overrated; A. S. Johnston he considered weak and indecisive. And, with an eye on posterity, he spent much of his time recording his own unvarying rightness in a series of letters which "show a man who is ambitious but unsure of what he wants, who is heartsick at the injustice he thinks his civil superiors have done, who believes that his country is doomed."

Equally important was Beauregard's limited view of the nature of warfare. His "strategic ideas were derived entirely from Jomini and Napoleon," and he saw no need to modify the maxims learned at West Point to meet the conditions of modern war. Living "in a sort of Napoleonic dreamworld," Beauregard was repeatedly to come forth with strategic diagnoses which were "generally sound," but "his specific plans were nearly always un-

sound: they were not based on realities, and sometimes . . . they were almost fantastic."

These two weaknesses help explain why Beauregard was not more successful on the battlefield, but something more is required to account for his failure in the history books. During the Reconstruction period, Beauregard was one of the few prominent ex-Confederate officers "to accumulate much property, the only one to become, by Southern standards, wealthy." His career as railroad builder and "front" for the unscrupulous Louisiana Lottery ring could perhaps be excused, but his comrades in arms could not so easily forget that in 1873 the general advocated "complete political equality for the Negro, an equal division of state offices between the races, and a plan whereby the Negroes would become landowners."

Beauregard, then, has never been canonized by the South. Professor Williams' biography does not give him a niche in the Confederate pantheon, but this scholarly and lively volume does establish that Beauregard's "career was one of the most unique in the Confederacy . . . in many ways . . . more significant to the student of the Civil War than any other Confederate general."

David Donald, Columbia University.

Realities of American Foreign Policy, by George F. Kennan. Princeton, N. J. Princeton University Press. 1954. pp. vi, 120. \$2.75.

Mr. Kennan, who has distinguished himself in top-level policy formulation (Director of the Policy Planning Staff and Counselor of the Department of State) and in foreign service posts (Ambassador to the U.S.S.R.), herein presents an incisive analysis of certain fundamental bases of American foreign policy and their limitations and applicability within the framework of a non-static international life and its problems. The book was originally delivered as the Stafford Little Lectures at Princeton University.

In the first of the four lectures, Mr. Kennan explores the dichotomy (the word he uses is schizophrenia) which he believes has developed in the American mind towards the purposes of foreign policy: on the one hand, there is the desire to perpetuate a tradition of idealism, legalism and moralism; on the other, there is a concern with the factors of power and limited objectives, closely associated with the protection of American national and vital interests. Concentration on legalistic-moralistic "utopian" policies and schemes, he judges, has led to confusion and disappointment, shading into disillusionment. In the next two lectures, an analysis is made of American positions and thought relative to the non-Soviet world and the Soviet threat. The final consideration presents "the more hopeful and constructive possibilities of American foreign policy."

Each of the lectures is pregnant with challenging interpretations. To cite but one example: many will not accept his conclusion that, though morality is to be guide for individual, civic and democratic life, it cannot serve as "a criterion for measuring and comparing the behavior of different states."

Mr. Kennan sees much reason for the reevaluation and reorientation of our thinking on foreign affairs and a rededication to individual and national obligations as an earnest of our desire for peace and prosperity for the totality of the human community.

Martin F. Hasting, Saint Louis University.

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